

IDEOLOGY, BEHAVIOR, AND NECESSITY  
IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND AND VIRGINIA

By

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## PREFACE

During the 1970s and 1980s the literature on the colonial Chesapeake stood on the cutting edge of American historiography, the premier example in American history of the "new social history." At the Hall of Records in Annapolis, the St. Marys City historians performed miracles in generating quantifiable data from stingy surviving records. At the University of New Hampshire, the Rutmans set extremely high standards for both evidence and argument.

Yet by the 1990s historians would generally conclude that colonial Chesapeake historiography had failed to live up to its earlier promise. In part the rise and fall of Chesapeake historiography reflects simply another full cycle in the discipline's perennial oscillation between "objectivist" and "relativist" phases.<sup>1</sup> More fundamentally, the historians of the colonial Chesapeake proved unable to deliver a much-anticipated synthesis as a result of a failure to address the themes of concern to more traditional intellectual and cultural historians. Specifically, while the challenge of the new social history was pushing traditional intellectual historians to move from the study of formal ideas divorced from behavior, Chesapeake scholars themselves

avoided tackling the problem of relating expressed ideas to observed behavior.<sup>2</sup>

Indeed, one can fairly say that because these social historians never bothered to test rigorously their presumptions about mind and behavior, their analysis of the first Anglo-Americans remained firmly stuck in the framework fashioned more than eighty years ago by Philip Alexander Bruce and Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, a framework of which all but a handful of historians seem blissfully ignorant. In this debate, each side has charged the other so often with propagating "myths" that we would do well to heed their charges. But the problem hardly reflects a lack of creativity or objectivity among historians. Rather, at a deeper level, the historiographical stagnation reflects a general malaise in the social sciences in general, mired in turn-of-the-century debates over what has been variously called the rise of liberalism, modernization, and the transition to capitalism, and over the relative influences of environmental, institutional, and cultural factors.

Historians have ambiguously maintained two general views toward myths. Some have favored an "objectivist" approach, treating myths as false ideas to be debunked in the pursuit of truth and pushing the discipline toward a more scientific history. Others, rejecting scientific pretensions, have favored a "relativist" approach, treating myths simply as ideas which historians and non-historians alike

seek to create and shape to help advance certain social agendas, in the process pushing the discipline toward "history as present politics."<sup>3</sup>

Relativists quite correctly point out that what is one person's truth is another's myth and that under intense cross-examination all knowledge can be reduced to myths. But they go beyond this to argue that history has no objective standards to determine "truth." Since myths shape our "actual categories of perception," no historian can escape them. Myths provide the framework by which we as humans make "the chaos of experience" we call life intelligible to ourselves. At a more pragmatic level, myths and stereotypes serve a useful function, allowing historians to write with authority on subjects beyond their expertise and to fill gaping holes in narratives for which no historian could possibly gather enough empirical evidence. Stereotypes, moreover, provide a useful tool for both historians and readers, freeing the mind from an overwhelming amount of contradictory and complex information. And myths have such a life of their own and become so infused with affective meaning that they persist oblivious to the mass of empirical evidence brought against them in historiographical battles. Thus myth-busting becomes a thankless task unless combined with the positive task of fashioning an alternative myth.<sup>4</sup>

All well and good, but the discipline of history is also vested with scientific standards toward which, as John

Higham notes, "the great community of historians--a community that remains unswervingly engaged in defending a boundary between histories and fictions"--strives.<sup>5</sup> Relativism turns the discipline of history into "the game of debunking myths," the fruitless activity of using myths to denounce other myths as false and vice versa ad nauseum with no hope of actually ameliorating our understanding, and inevitably making us slaves to our own myths.<sup>6</sup> A belief in the possibility of scientific progress in understanding undoubtedly itself reflects a bias in Western thought. But this belief also reflects a pragmatic approach to solving real problems for people who believe that, regardless of differences among people, disinterested scholars can reach some standards of comparison to judge the merits of alternative solutions with the hope of actually improving rather than aggravating the problems. Even the most nihilistic of scholars recognize some standards, knowing full well that human life would otherwise be impossible. In practice, establishing "objective" standards becomes a political rather than epistemological problem.<sup>7</sup>

On a more positive note, myths provide a point of takeoff for the scientific historian, "useful generalizations by which data may be tested."<sup>8</sup> The purpose of "serious history," argues C. Vann Woodward, is not to destroy or create myths, but to critique myths.<sup>9</sup> This presumes the ability to step outside of myths, at least temporarily, so



that the historian can analyze them objectively. Such an ability cannot be taken for granted. The roots of many myths lie deep in Western thought, especially the dichotomous conventions forcing thought into terms of black and white instead of that vast foreboding gray which comprises reality. With changing generations, myth readily turns into counter-myth only to return to the earlier myth; but above all the Janus-faced myths persist as historians maintain "the old yearning for a sharp, clear-cut antithesis."<sup>10</sup> Sophisticated historians realize that debates in history, as in all the social sciences, do not reduce to black and white but revolve around how to make sense of the gray--or, as David Hackett Fischer puts it, "how the terms of mediation are to be resolved."<sup>11</sup> Yet the recognition does not necessarily enable them or other historians to escape these ubiquitous myths.

This dissertation attempts to explore possible "terms of mediation." I do not consider this an easy task, but I do believe it possible. The exploration will take us deeper than might be expected into historiography, classical thought, social science theory, and ideas and behavior in England as well as Virginia. But such a journey is necessary on the one hand to an understanding of the immediate subject matter (the seventeenth-century Chesapeake) and, on the other, to show how the modern debates with their varying assumptions about Virginian, Southern, English, American,

and human natures have prevented historians from realizing some important truths about those natures.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School  
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My dissertation challenges current views of early American political economy by examining the contemporary ideas and actions of seventeenth-century Virginians. Its findings indicate that attempts to define these transplanted Englishmen in terms of "traditional" and "modern" ideal types distort our understanding of their mind and behavior.

While Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic believed that people should behave in a manner consistent with the common good, in no way did they believe that people actually would so behave. They accepted that almost everyone was motivated primarily by egoistic interests that often worked contrary to the common good.

In no way, however, did they conceive that people would respond to market forces like economic maximizers. To them, the greatest potential problem preventing England and Vir-

ginia alike from achieving their true potential was not avarice in the marketplace but indolence. While they accepted the importance of hope and opportunity as motivators, they believed that only "necessity," or relative poverty, could overcome the natural laziness of Englishmen or mankind in general.

The available evidence suggests that this "necessity" model of economic behavior can explain the actual behavior of these Englishmen. Examination of planter behavior in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, as revealed through multiple regression analysis of tobacco productivity, demand for labor, and demand for land in the period 1660-1706, demonstrates all the "perverse" characteristics typically associated with traditional peasants and a backward-sloping supply of labor: far from escalating productive forces, rising tobacco prices actually resulted in a reduced demand for additional labor and a decrease in productivity.

Indeed, rather than serving to verify the "traditional" nature of seventeenth-century Englishmen, the discovery of such behavior in the Chesapeake challenges simplistic divisions of people both past and present into traditional and modern categories, an idea rooted more in nineteenth-century American and Western exceptionalism than in objective analysis. Evidence from Western and Third World countries is ready to hand to demonstrate that the necessity model of economic behavior is as applicable today as it was in their

time and helps to explain historical and cross-cultural behavior better than competing theories.



## CHAPTER 1 MYTHS OF ORIGIN, ORIGINS OF MYTH

In the great American narrative, the settlers of seventeenth-century Virginia have never achieved full rank. They exist merely as foils to more important actors: seventeenth-century New England Puritans, who, it is argued, shaped the future American mind; eighteenth-century Virginians, who led America to independence; and nineteenth-century Southern planters, who drove the nation into civil war. Yet these Englishmen profoundly shaped the course of American history. They developed an extensive staple economy built around forced labor out of which emerged both heroes and villains. The posterity of the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, each succeeding generation pushing further and further to the south and west, played as great a role in shaping the American character as the sons of Massachusetts Bay. Surely to understand the history of the United States, one must understand these first Anglo-Americans.

It is a difficult task, however. From the earliest promotional literature to the latest historiographical debates, no matter where one turns in a quest to come to grips with these Virginian Englishmen, one cannot escape the myths of the past. As Carl Van Doren remarked on reading Jay



B. Hubbell's dissertation in 1919, "the remote Virginia past was buried under as many layers of legend as the numerous strata which Heinrich Schliemann found overlying Homer's Troy."<sup>1</sup> In part this reflects, as Richard Hofstadter well noted, the loss to the American imagination of the entire pre-Revolutionary era, leaving only "an episodic mythology."<sup>2</sup> But the colonial era does not suffer alone. The ghosts of the English and American civil wars continue to haunt all interpretations of the American past. The very categories commonly used to conceptualize the mind and behavior of these earliest Americans--Puritans and Yankees, Rogues and Cavaliers, Yeomen and Po' White Trash--reflect the polemical war of words waged by seventeenth-century Englishmen on the one hand and antebellum Americans on the other.

The problem in conceptualization, however, goes deeper than stereotypical labels for modern historians are mired in their own polemical war of words. When discussing colonial Virginia, historians do not pit one hypothesis against another, but one historian's truth against another's myth. Furthermore, oblivious to their own historiography, these historians do not even realize they have been mired in the same debate since the 1910s and have gotten no closer to agreement. But, as later chapters will show, the sterility of modern historiography reflects a problem far deeper than the simple lack of historiographical perspective.

### Modernist Approach

All historians acknowledge that New World cultures arose out of the combined influence of cultural inheritance, the selective nature of migration, the selective transference of Old World institutions, particular New World geography and climate, contact with other cultures, and continuing contact with the mother country. Yet studies have varied greatly in the weight given to each factor, ignoring some completely, giving lip service to others, all the while highlighting one or the other as "the central theme" of American development.<sup>3</sup>

For the most part, differing interpretations of the mindset of the seventeenth-century Virginian and hence the nature of early Virginia society have stressed cultural baggage, selective migration, and physical environment to the exclusion of all other factors. Historians generally assume all white Virginians were Anglo-Saxon, ignoring the small groups of Welsh, Scots, Irish, and Huguenots.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, they ignore cultural contact with these minor immigrant streams, as well as the larger numbers of African and West Indian slaves and native Americans (apart from the exceptional and isolated work of Mechal Sobel and a handful of ethnohistorians).<sup>5</sup> While earlier studies of seventeenth-century Virginia usually recognized the civilizing effect of continued commercial contact with England in the first years, modern studies all but ignore such contact.<sup>6</sup> Fur-

thermore, almost all historians of early Virginia, whether they emphasize continuity or change, treat institutional transfer as a dependent rather than an independent variable.<sup>7</sup>

Yet historians differ fundamentally and vociferously on whether cultural baggage, selective migration, or the physical environment proved the dominant factor in shaping colonial Virginia, divisions following closely intradisciplinary boundaries. In general, "cultural" and "intellectual" historians have worked within a "traditionalist" framework emphasizing the transfer of traditional English culture dominated by the gentry ethic to the New World and only slightly modified by the New World environment.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, "social" historians have developed a "modernist" approach stressing alternatively the selective transference of English culture dominated by a bourgeois ethic and the special nature of the New World environment that transformed traditional Englishmen into modern Americans.<sup>9</sup>

Most modernist interpretations of early America do not argue any intent on the part of the immigrants to create a modern world, but rather the divergence from traditional ideals as a result of the different physical environment.<sup>10</sup> Although historians have emphasized various environmental factors that significantly impacted seventeenth-century Virginia society (such as warm climate, abundant land, Indian clearings, Tidewater riverine system, isolation from

England), the general emphasis in most environmentalist interpretations of seventeenth-century Virginia can be summed up by one word: frontier. All of the great "frontier" historians of nineteenth-century America from Turner to Ray Allen Billington have recognized (at least implicitly) seventeenth-century Virginia as the earliest frontier, although usually downplaying its significance to the great American narrative by labeling the Tidewater a "European" frontier or "a frontier without frontiersmen."<sup>11</sup> Historians and historical archaeologists of the colonial Chesapeake have regularly highlighted the frontier concept.<sup>12</sup>

This emphasis on the frontier obviously reflects the dominance of Frederick Jackson Turner in twentieth-century American historiography.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, just what one means by frontier remains as ambiguous with regard to seventeenth-century Virginia as to the nineteenth-century West. Turner, in his various writings on the frontier, presented various definitions. Indeed, the power of his thesis rests fundamentally on that very ambiguity of definition, drawing as much on myth and metaphor as on late nineteenth-century evolutionary science.<sup>14</sup> In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the frontier has both a dark and a bright side, alternately a howling wilderness ruled by demons and wild beasts and a "Lockean" state of nature ruled by the hand of God that God's chosen people transform into the Promised Land. In America, via its links with Puritanism and Jeffersonianism,

this Judeo-Christian tradition came to play a central role in American mythology.<sup>15</sup> Other more pagan Western traditions equate the frontier with the original state of nature: a "Hobbesian" war of man against man in a struggle for survival, status, power, and wealth; a peaceful and non-materialistic communitarian utopia; or an idle and carefree Lubberland existence.<sup>16</sup> The power and longevity of the Turner thesis lies in the combination of the Manifest Destiny of the Judeo-Christian and Jeffersonian traditions with the Hobbesian-cum-Darwinian scientific tradition.<sup>17</sup> But attempts to extend the Judeo-Christian part of the myth to seventeenth-century Virginia, for whatever reason, have never really captured the historical imagination, leaving the field ripe for a Hobbesian interpretation.<sup>18</sup>

The Hobbesian frontier acts on humans in three ways. First, the abundance of resources and free land on the frontier creates infinite opportunity for material acquisition and spurs hope of social and economic mobility.<sup>19</sup> Second, the removal of traditional constraints frees individuals to compete with each other for those resources without regard for the consequences to others in the present or future. Third, the ruggedness of the frontier makes actual survival and the survival of one's offspring ultimately dependent on success in that competition. In the language of Social Darwinism, following Charles Darwin himself, the whole westward movement, beginning with the



trans-Atlantic voyage, becomes "a 'process' wherein the survival value of men and institutions was tested," an arena in which heredity and environment, "eugenics and euthenics," worked in harmony within "the framework prescribed by race."<sup>20</sup> Scholars recognize that all these effects do not occur on every frontier and the effects occur in non-frontier contexts as well (such as in the opportunity and hope generated in times of prosperity, and the removal of constraints and threat to survival in times of societal breakdown). Furthermore, there is no consensus on the exact outcome of any individual effect or combination of effects on a particular society. But in the context of the seventeenth-century Virginia frontier, modernists like Carl L. Becker, Wilbur J. Cash, Perry Miller, Sigmund Diamond, David Bertelson, Edmund S. Morgan, T. H. Breen, Richard D. Brown, Darrett B. Rutman, and Jack P. Greene agree that the three effects converged to unleash a "buccaneering capitalism" as all men fiercely competed for the factors of production in pursuit of the "main chance," which in seventeenth-century Virginia generally meant maximizing tobacco production.<sup>21</sup>

Many of these modernists implicitly or explicitly presume the traditional nature of the cultural baggage imported by the English, thus highlighting the nature of the Turnerian transformation. However, with the increasing disfavor of strict economic and geographic determinism in the other social sciences, complexities in extending the

Turnerian thesis to non-American frontiers and non-English immigrants, and critiques of American isolationism, historians after World War II began emphasizing the bourgeois nature of the English immigrants.<sup>22</sup> Scholars like Carl Bridenbaugh, Stanley M. Elkins, Robert F. Berkhofer, and Rutman highlighted the "pre-selective" nature of migration, with America attracting only the most ambitious, individualistic, and acquisitive men and women, all the while continuing to accent the greater free play of the New World environment.<sup>23</sup> In the latest development, historians like Rutman, Brown, and Greene have begun to stress even more the transitional nature of English society, undergoing its own (albeit more gradual) modernization as the commercial revolution of the late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century affected all classes.<sup>24</sup>

These modernists, although they disagree vehemently amongst themselves over things like planter attitudes toward risk and the nature of opportunities and constraints, regularly assume that planters, great and small, were to all intents and purposes modern American farmers who sought nothing more than to maximize capital accumulation.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard and several other historians have gone so far over to an "economic man" interpretation as to blur any distinction between historians and neo-classical economists, equating the planters of the

seventeenth-century Chesapeake with twentieth-century industrial firms.<sup>26</sup>

### Traditionalist Approach

The modernist approach did not go unchallenged. After World War II, intellectual and cultural historians led by Louis B. Wright, Merle Curti, Peter Laslett, Daniel Boorstin, Carl N. Degler, Richard Beale Davis, and most recently Bertram Wyatt-Brown and David Hackett Fischer, have countered that continuity, the transplantation of the rural gentry ideal--or what Fischer calls the "Cavalier ethic"--played the greatest role in shaping colonial Virginia society. "As social-climbing citizens at home [in England] sought to imitate the landed gentry," wrote Wright, "so Virginia colonists who had the opportunity of acquiring land and accumulating wealth" sought to become "country gentlemen in the English manner, and country gentlemen, for better or worse, they became."<sup>27</sup> Moreover, continuing in the tradition of nineteenth-century New England historians, traditionalists tend to set off the Southern experience from mainstream American experience, tracing the American character and institutions to Northern roots and the Southern character to English gentry roots. When Degler wrote in 1959 that "Capitalism Came in the First Ships" to America, he did not mean the Susan Constant, Godspeed, and Discovery.<sup>28</sup>



In contrast to the materialist objectives stressed by the modernist approach, traditionalists emphasize the idealist pursuit of gentility, the "honor of a gentleman" which comprised "that quality which was the very mainspring of his actions."<sup>29</sup> "The pattern of life which the ruling class of Virginia planters sought to follow was an ancient heritage dependent upon the possession of land, with sufficient income to maintain one's position with dignity and honor."<sup>30</sup> Even acquisitiveness and luxury reflected the desire for the appropriate accoutrements of one's station.<sup>31</sup> In addition, the ideal comprised such elements as the Renaissance spirit of adventure, religiosity, hedonism, a desire for material security, and an overall emphasis on the Aristotelian golden mean--a balance or equilibrium among all these diverse elements not allowing any single aspect to obliterate other aspects of a genteel life.<sup>32</sup>

Like the modernists, traditionalists recognize both that the character of the immigrants did not change simply in the course of making a trans-Atlantic voyage and that the end product of Virginia society resulted from the evolutionary interaction of the intended goal with the environment.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, while modernists note that the frontier engendered the Yankee spirit, traditionalists typically find that the mild climate and fertile soil allowed the Cavalier ethic to flourish in Virginia.<sup>34</sup>

Traditionalists like Wright, Boorstin, and Davis believe that the realities of colonial life forced all planters, great and small, to engage in a wide range of economic activities to attain a desired standard of living. And, indeed, the planter worked hard and engaged in almost any activity or investment for his capital that might yield a profit, from tobacco production to land speculation to commercial trade to political office.<sup>35</sup> But traditionalists emphasized that, despite the reality of environmental constraints, the ultimate goal was not the maximization of wealth. "Honor," Wyatt-Brown notes, "had always required wealth but only as a means to an end. It was not the end itself...possessions for the mere sake of having and enjoying them was secular accumulation, amoral and self-indulgent, as churchmen as well as men of honor never tired of stressing."<sup>36</sup> Despite their labors, planters always found time for a cultured life. To these would-be gentlemen, the wilderness represented a temporary obstacle in the path to gentility and civilization.<sup>37</sup>

### Behavioral Consensus

Despite the vast gulf between traditionalists and modernists at the level of cultural analysis highlighted above, at the behavioral level that gulf shrinks to almost nothing. Cultural and intellectual historians following Wright have acceded to almost the entire modernist argument

below the level of the "ultimate" goal or psychology of the seventeenth-century Virginia planter. The two approaches differ little on short-term goals, actual behavior, or the behavioral transformation of colonial Virginia society from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, the only question being whether these are manifestations of human nature, traditional English values constrained by insufficient wealth and the frontier environment, or bourgeois behavior of a modern kind. Both sides agree that the difference between pursuits of gentility, status, wealth, or capital might matter in the eighteenth century but not in the seventeenth century when wealth was the basis for achieving every goal. Acknowledging that wealth was essential to the pursuit of honor and gentility on the seventeenth-century Chesapeake frontier, traditionalists conclude that the immediate goal was to maximize capital accumulation in order to buy servants and land with the hope and expectation of achieving a future gentility.<sup>38</sup> But traditionalists and modernists agree, regardless of the ultimate goal of the Virginians, that gentility was an unrealistic goal on the seventeenth-century frontier.<sup>39</sup>

Reflecting the consensus on immigrant origins, both approaches apply the same motivational model to all seventeenth-century immigrants. Regardless of origins, all Englishmen, like immigrants in any age, sought to better their condition, to acquire a freehold, and to accumulate

wealth in the land of opportunity. Thus they flocked to Virginia, pulled to it by abundant land, high wages, and the spirit of adventure, and pushed from England by declining real wages, civil war, social upheaval, and bad harvests.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly, both schools stress a model of transformation rather than continuity for colonial Virginia, where seventeenth-century frontiersmen changed themselves into an eighteenth-century aristocracy with the development of their own hedonistic "Tuckahoe" culture built around leisure, luxury, sport, horses, sociability, and chivalry, while retaining their earlier commercially-oriented, hard-working spirit. Martin H. Quitt aptly characterizes this "transformation" as the shift from seventeenth-century "merchant-planters" to eighteenth-century "planter-merchants." Richard D. Brown labels the process "traditionalization," from a modern buccaneering to a more traditional capitalism.<sup>41</sup>

Although traditionalists stress far greater continuity in ultimate goals and accent much more the role of cultural baggage, both approaches acknowledge the major shift in short-term goals and behavior as the frontier stage ended. As Virginia society stabilized at the end of the seventeenth century by virtue of the growth of a native population, a more equal sex ratio, and possibly a general decline in mortality, social conditions made possible for the first time the development of patriarchal, nuclear households. But both traditionalists and modernists emphasize above all the

transition to slavery after 1680 with its detrimental impact on the buccaneering, capitalistic behavior of rich and poor whites alike.<sup>42</sup> With the shift to slavery, great planters finally accumulated sufficient wealth to permit themselves the material symbols of their status and the leisure to pursue the genteel life. Conspicuous consumption and aversion to manual labor spread across all classes.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, both approaches acknowledge the influence of eighteenth-century cultural contacts with England in the refinement of the new creole elite. Increasingly sensitive to criticism and ridicule over their provincialism, Virginia planters turned to the English gentry for guidance in matters of status and gentility and emulated the changing European fashions.<sup>44</sup> The two processes of creolization and Anglicization intertwined in a complex manner, giving rise to the complex society of eighteenth-century Virginia.<sup>45</sup>

This consensus periodizes the history of colonial Virginia into two phases, with some historians inserting a period of transition. Each phase had its representative planter: Samuel Mathews in the frontier phase of the first half of the seventeenth century, a period dominated by "tough, unsentimental, quick-tempered, crudely ambitious men concerned with profits and increased landholdings, not the grace of life";<sup>46</sup> either William Byrd I or William Fitzhugh, merchant-planters in the transitional second half of the seventeenth century; and William Byrd II in the aris-

tocratic phase of the first half of the eighteenth century.<sup>47</sup> The Great American narrative, however, seeking a neat clean periodization, ignores any transitional phase and simply marks the transformation around 1700 from a seventeenth-century colonial society to an eighteenth-century provincial society.<sup>48</sup>

### Myth of Origins

Amazingly, historians in the 1990s have engaged in this rather weak debate and extensive consensus almost oblivious to its remarkable similarity to the 1920s when Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, slayer of "the Cavalier myth," ruled the historiography of seventeenth-century Virginia. A review of this poorly understood historiographical triumph provides ample fuel for those who believe that in slaying one myth, historians do not move closer to objectivity but simply impose a countermyth. For in truth, what Wyatt-Brown calls the "Myth of the Bourgeois Planter" and Fischer disparagingly calls "the Wertenbaker thesis," has dominated modern interpretations of seventeenth-century Virginia, although perhaps not for the reasons that Wyatt-Brown and Fischer suspect.<sup>49</sup>

The Cavalier myth undoubtedly had deep roots in attitudes developed during the colonial and revolutionary eras, but achieved the status of popular mythology only in the years leading up to the Civil War, aided by the popularity



of the romantic fiction of Sir Walter Scott. As sectional tensions increased, Southerners and Northerners alike began to draw separate portraits of national origins for two distinct civilizations: a Puritan-Yankee North and a Cavalier South. Antebellum Americans, by mutual consent, believed Northerners and Southerners were not just possessed of different cultures in the modern sense, but were distinct races. Northerners traced their roots to original Anglo-Saxon blood surging through Puritan Roundheads while Southerners believed themselves the progeny of the Norman conquerors of medieval England through their descendants, the Royalist defenders of Charles I. With such different heritages, both sections set about creating distinct societies, each dominated by a different spirit: capitalistic in the North and aristocratic in the South.<sup>50</sup>

In the aftermath of Civil War and Reconstruction, the political war of words faded and custody of the myths of origin passed to historians as history fell increasingly under the domination of "professional" academics. Two trends, with obvious roots in the racism of the antebellum era, marked late nineteenth-century historiography: a backward-looking, localistic filiopietism and a forward-looking, nationalistic Social Darwinism. Although "amateur" historians inclined toward the former and "professional" historians toward the latter, both groups shared a desire to heal

old sectional wounds by deemphasizing the antebellum emphasis on racial and class divisions between North and South.<sup>51</sup>

In the historiography of colonial Virginia, these trends revealed themselves most sharply in the work of John Esten Cooke and John Fiske, the key modern progenitors of the myth of the Cavalier exodus. Both stressed a great migration of Royalist supporters from England to Virginia after the execution of Charles I as the only feasible explanation for the significant rise in population in the colony between 1649 and 1671. Undoubtedly, for Cooke and his fellow Southerners, filiopietism played an important role in their promotion of the Cavalier myth as a reaction to New England dominance of national history.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, Cooke and Fiske primarily turned to the Cavalier myth within the spirit of a postbellum reconciliation espoused by many members of the literary community North and South. This compromise on American origins substituted a common Anglo-Saxon inheritance for the antebellum emphasis on North-South class and racial divisions. In turn, terms like Cavalier and Puritan reverted to their earlier connotation of strictly religious and political differences during the great exodus of political and religious refugees from seventeenth-century England that originally peopled America.<sup>53</sup>

The antebellum and Cooke-Fiske versions of the Cavalier exodus started unraveling as more critical genealogists and



historians began to examine the historical record. By the late nineteenth century, genealogists had revealed that few noblemen or even near relations of noblemen had immigrated to early Virginia, and leading journals like the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography and the William and Mary Quarterly had grown increasingly hostile to the aristocratic myth.<sup>54</sup> Even Fiske would write that most planters descended from "either country squires or prosperous yeomen, or craftsmen from the numerous urban guilds."<sup>55</sup> The detailed work of Philip Alexander Bruce finally put to rest both the literal antebellum and Cooke-Fiske myths. Although Bruce traced the origins of some of the higher planter class to English peers, knights, esquires, and "gentlemen," he found that these immigrants were not concentrated in one great exodus but arrived throughout the seventeenth century; more to the point, Bruce found that the planters for the most part descended from the English squirearchy, professionals, military officers, and, especially, the merchant class. Further Bruce showed conclusively that servants comprised the great bulk of immigrants over the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>56</sup>

A genuine consensus quickly grew around Bruce's more balanced presentation emphasizing the mercantile background of most of the planter elite.<sup>57</sup> In the twentieth century, lingering references to the antebellum and Cooke-Fiske myths of a great Cavalier exodus can only be labelled straw-man

arguments.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, historians go to great lengths to eschew any association with the old myths.<sup>59</sup> Even Fischer, whose latest effort on occasion implies a reversion to the racial Cavalier myth of the antebellum era, when directly challenged claims nothing more than what Bruce claimed at the turn of the century.<sup>60</sup>

### Origins of an Ethos: Cavalier versus Yankee

Consensus on the social origins of seventeenth-century Virginians has, however, led only to more intensified disagreements among historians over the nature of early Virginia society. The modern debate shifted from social origins to questions of the mindset of the immigrants and the relative weight of the competing influences of environment and culture. Far more than any other historians, Bruce and Wertenbaker set the groundwork for this debate.

Although Bruce did not accept the old Cavalier myth, he evinced such a nostalgia for the "spacious days of the old landed aristocracy," that his portrait of seventeenth-century Virginia "could have jarred no one who remained dedicated to the idea that Virginia owed much of its essential character to its Cavalier settlers."<sup>61</sup> Although few aristocrats-in-blood immigrated, sufficient numbers of Cavaliers imbued with the "spirit" of the English landed gentry came to stamp a dominant Cavalier ethos on seventeenth-century Virginia society that would later shape an eighteenth-

century Virginian aristocracy. While historians such as John Spencer Bassett would continue to emphasize the central role of an exodus of royalists during the Interregnum, most followed Bruce, either sidestepping the issue of timing or emphasizing a steady flow of aristocrats throughout the seventeenth century and thus accentuating the theme of historical continuity in Virginia's first century.<sup>62</sup>

For Bruce, the leading immigrants, whether from town or country, brought with them the ideals and customs of the English landed gentry: "In essentials the life which the Virginian led on his estate was the same as the life which the English gentleman led on his own." In particular, Bruce stressed that the Virginia gentry carried over the very best of the English entrepreneurial spirit, reflected in their willingness to emigrate to America. Further, Bruce emphasized the historical continuity of Virginia society in every important detail from Jamestown to the eve of the Civil War, with refinements in outward appearances merely a function of the steady accumulation of wealth.<sup>63</sup>

Wertenbaker differed little from Bruce on the myths of origin and many other details of seventeenth-century Virginia; indeed, he frequently cited Bruce as his sole authority. But Wertenbaker challenged the whole notion of a transplanted Cavalier ethos. Such remote lineages tracing to "distinguished families" as Bruce sought to establish meant little to the merchants' sons intent on coming to Virginia.

Wertenbaker regarded these earliest merchant-planters as a full-blown bourgeoisie that the New World environment transformed into Yankees: voracious devourers of labor, importing ever-increasing numbers of indentured servants at first and then slaves in a limitless search for ever greater profits from tobacco rather than the leisure of an English landed estate. In contrast to Bruce's continuity model, Wertenbaker believed that a planter aristocracy did not arise until the eighteenth century, a home-grown product evolved out of local environmental conditions that transformed these merchant-planters from "practical business men" dominated by "the mercantile instinct" into "idealistic and chivalrous aristocrats."<sup>64</sup> In particular, Wertenbaker highlighted the role of tobacco culture, the entrenchment of African slavery, the subsequent demise of the Virginia yeomanry, the overseer system, the accumulation of wealth, and the rise of isolated plantations.<sup>65</sup> Reflecting the strong influence of Social Darwinism, Wertenbaker also emphasized the transmuting impact of the New World environment on the Virginia middle class. Both the abundance and harshness of life on the seventeenth-century Virginia frontier--ruled, as it was, by "the law of the survival of the fittest"--established that success for early Virginians owed more to "rough qualities of manhood that fitted them for the life in the forests of the New World, than to education or culture."<sup>66</sup>

Twentieth-century commentators seeking to justify their own interpretation of seventeenth-century Virginia have frequently insinuated that the differing interpretations of Bruce and Wertenbaker reflected not ambiguity in the historical evidence but personal qualities: the difference between an amateur and a professional historian, an Old South romantic and a myth-busting scientific historian, an heir of a "First Family" and an anti-aristocratic "Teuton."<sup>67</sup> None of these opinions goes very far toward explaining the differences, let alone the commonalities. The difference between these two equally proud native Virginians with strong ties to Mr. Jefferson's University reflected more a generational shift, the difference in perspective between those who had experienced the Civil War directly and those who experienced it in absentia, from a late nineteenth-century Bourbon to an early twentieth-century Progressive.<sup>68</sup> But as numerous historians of the New South have noted, the Bourbon and Progressive remained strictly that--a generational shift--with similarities far outweighing differences.

Historians have generally followed Rutman's interpretation of Bruce as "a perfect example" of what C. Vann Woodward called "the divided mind" of the South, the Bourbon caught between conflicting beliefs in the "New South Creed" and "the myth of the Old South."<sup>69</sup> But no Southern historian, and certainly neither Bruce nor Wertenbaker, escaped the pervasive turn-of-the-century Southern climate of opin-



ion combining in varying degrees paradoxical elements of Old South filopietism, New South nationalism, Jeffersonian democracy, and Anglo-Saxon racism.<sup>70</sup> Fundamentally, both scholars accepted the Old South myth so gloriously sketched by Bruce's brother-in-law, Thomas Nelson Page, the romantic novelist and historical essayist. Indeed Bruce's and Wertenbaker's interpretations in many respects reflect simply opposing running commentaries on how they believed the seventeenth-century Virginia gentry and society (as revealed in the historical evidence) measured up to this ideal type of antebellum Southern society.<sup>71</sup> For Bruce, all the evidence suggested that the seventeenth-century Tidewater gentry were nothing less than the antebellum planter society in embryo, while Wertenbaker found the seventeenth-century planter oligarchy sadly lacking in all the antebellum graces. Indeed, Wertenbaker found the seventeenth-century merchant-planters, whom Bruce had already shown to have a strong mercantile inheritance and background, acting for all the world like unscrupulous Yankees.<sup>72</sup>

Wertenbaker and Bruce differed in the same way that the early twentieth-century Progressive historians in general differed from their immediate predecessors.<sup>73</sup> While their predecessors stressed class consensus, the Progressives stressed class conflict. Wertenbaker in his first work, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia (1910), which he sub-



titled The Origin and Development of the Social Classes of the Old Dominion, emphasized the rise of a two-class society of aristocrats and middle-class yeomen in late seventeenth-century Virginia; Bruce, in his Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (1907), which he subtitled An Inquiry into the Origin of the Higher Planter Class, viewed the Old South as well as contemporary England as a "one-class society" à la Peter Laslett.<sup>74</sup> Both Wertenbaker and Bruce celebrated Nathaniel Bacon as a key player in the rise of American democracy. Indeed, in 1958, Wertenbaker would draw on Bruce, writing in 1893, to state in a nutshell the former's whole "torchbearer of the revolution" thesis.<sup>75</sup> But while Bruce followed the conservative emphasis on Bacon's traditional defense of the Englishman's rights against the intrusion of Berkeley and the Crown, Wertenbaker highlighted the yeoman's democratic challenge to the entrenched planter aristocracy.<sup>76</sup>

Where Bruce and pre-Progressive historians saw continuity, whether between England and America or between seventeenth-century and nineteenth-century Virginia, Wertenbaker and Progressive historians saw discontinuity.<sup>77</sup> Direct links are unclear, but Wertenbaker fits well within the pattern of certain other Southern Progressives like Walter Hines Page and William E. Dodd who harped back in turn to a preslavery, democratic South in the tradition of antebellum Jeffersonians like Hugh Blair Grigsby.<sup>78</sup> In the end, both Werten-

baker's and Bruce's antebellum Southern gentlemen shared strong similarities with their ideal of an early modern English gentry, but while Bruce saw this as a simple process of cultural inheritance with only slight environmental impact, Wertenbaker envisioned a complex double-transformation process of evolution combining Herbert Baxter Adam's "germ" theory, Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis, and Edward Eggleston's multi-factor "transit of civilization" all rolled into one.<sup>79</sup>

While both Bruce and Wertenbaker were interested in developing a more scientific history and both truly pioneered in the development of modern social historiography, Bruce reflected the late nineteenth-century ideal of a plodding Rankeian "inductive" history while Wertenbaker exuded the "New History's" confidence in a rapier-like "deductive" history.<sup>80</sup> At the evidentiary level, the main point of contention between the two rested on whether any of their findings of divergence from an antebellum aristocratic society made seventeenth-century Virginia sufficiently different to fall outside the range of characteristics of seventeenth-century English society (of which neither Bruce nor Wertenbaker knew much beyond a cursory reading). Thus the resolution of their differences reduced to a problem in historical sociology beyond the scope of either historian, both in theory and evidence.<sup>81</sup>

Both Bruce and Wertenbaker recognized the influence of cultural and environmental factors in seventeenth-century Virginia society. However, on the exact balance between those cultural and environmental forces and the specific nature of those forces, the two diverged. Where Bruce emphasized cultural continuity and the triumph of culture over environment, Wertenbaker stressed cultural transformation and the triumph of environment over culture.<sup>82</sup>

Overall, one must conclude that, through their convergences and divergences, Bruce and Wertenbaker fundamentally framed the twentieth-century approach to the history of seventeenth-century Virginia. They converged on the Anglo-Saxon nature of immigration, drawn primarily from the middling and mercantile classes who sought to better their condition, acquire a freehold, and accumulate wealth in the land of opportunity. They agreed early Virginians were a hard-working, entrepreneurial, commercially-oriented lot. Both emphasized the importance of the settlement process, the slow accumulation of wealth, population growth, and the introduction of slavery as the fundamental forces in the economic evolution of Virginian society, rather than the changed character of immigrants or a mass Cavalier exodus. All of these ideas form the heart of the historical consensus on seventeenth-century Virginia.<sup>83</sup>

In their divergent opinions on the relative importance of historical continuity versus change, culture versus

environment in their explication of the nature of colonial Virginia, Bruce and Wertenbaker tapped into basic conservative-liberal and idealist-materialist debates that continue to divide traditionalists and modernists. However, one should not make too much of such divergences since both early and late twentieth-century historians recognized it was not a question of either-or. Indeed, the difference between the two approaches "boils down," as Hofstadter noted for most historical debates, "to questions of emphasis, to arguments about how much stress we want to put on this factor rather than that, when we all admit that both were at work."<sup>84</sup>

More fundamentally, though, Bruce and Wertenbaker took quite rigid stands on contrasting the dominance of two antithetical spirits--Cavalier and Yankee--that did not come down to "questions of emphasis." Either one was a Yankee in spirit or one was a Cavalier in spirit, there was no in-between. More than anything else, this strict dichotomization gave Bruce and Wertenbaker a lasting presence in shaping the two major approaches to seventeenth-century Virginia historiography: the modernist approach following Wertenbaker and the traditionalist approach following Bruce.

However, despite the extensive work of the traditionalists, there really was no question which interpretation of seventeenth-century Virginia would win its place in the great American synthesis. Although Bruce's books on the

economic, institutional, and social history of seventeenth-century Virginia would continue to occupy a prominent place on the bookshelves of historians of colonial Chesapeake, by the 1920s Northern and Southern historians alike proclaimed Wertenbaker "the great revisionist of the day...exploding the myths perpetrated by Philip Alexander Bruce."<sup>85</sup> Wertenbaker's class conflict and his transformational framework melded with the developing Progressive synthesis that dominated American historiography for most of the twentieth century. His interpretation hardly dented the traditional interpretations of the antebellum era, simply requiring the substitution of Southern agrarianism versus Northern industrialism for the traditional Cavalier versus Yankee antithesis.<sup>86</sup> And while counter-Progressive historians, beginning in the 1950s, fundamentally challenged the traditional dichotomization of antebellum Southern planters and Northern capitalists, they had little to do in this regard in the colonial Chesapeake.<sup>87</sup> Traditionalists following Louis B. Wright would indeed fully accept Wertenbaker's frontier as a description of the environmental reality with its concomitant dismissal of gentility as a realistic goal in the seventeenth century.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, the weakness of the counter-Progressive movement when it dealt with seventeenth-century Virginia historiography, despite the influence of Boorstin, Degler, and other "consensus historians" on American historiography in general, left little for neo-



Progressives to challenge.<sup>89</sup> Against this consensus, the countermythical charges of Wyatt-Brown and Fischer have had little impact.

### Defunct Historians and Economists

In public, historians have sometimes noted the continuing influence of Bruce and Wertenbaker, although usually without making clear exactly what that influence was. In a review published in 1975, on the eve of the colonial Chesapeake renaissance, Warren M. Billings compared the impact of the work of these two on later research on the seventeenth-century Chesapeake to that of Charles A. Beard and Frederick Jackson Turner on American history in general, all part of an irrepressible Progressive synthesis of American history.<sup>90</sup> In private, historians will even acknowledge that the dominant interpretation today shares an uncanny resemblance to Wertenbaker's work, sans his blatant racism.<sup>91</sup> But few actually cite Bruce and Wertenbaker for factual evidence and fewer still, if any, read them for their historical interpretations.

John Maynard Keynes once warned his fellow economists that those "practical economists, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from past intellectual influences, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist."<sup>92</sup> Billings in 1975 echoed Keynes in his hope that the burgeoning new research on the Chesapeake would once and for all free the



seventeenth-century from the dead weight of past polemics.<sup>93</sup> Of all the social sciences, however, history seems to be least concerned with its own past. Billings's hopes were dashed. For even if seldom read and cited, Bruce and Wertenbaker--defunct historians--still set the terms of modern Chesapeake scholarship. What has been described in opening as a division between modernists and traditionalists turns out to be simply a recasting of Wertenbaker versus Bruce. And mired in this old debate we regularly add rich detail to our pool of knowledge about the region (A Place in Time and Robert Cole's World come to mind) but knowledge cast in terms of old understandings. What follows attempts to sketch something new.

#### Notes

1. Jay B. Hubbell, Southern Life in Fiction (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1960) 37.
2. Richard Hofstadter, The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, Parrington (New York: Knopf, 1968) 5.
3. Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber, eds., The Frontier in Perspective (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1957) xiii-xx.
4. See, e.g., Philip Alexander Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1910; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1964) 2: 606; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia (1922; New York: Russell, 1958) 34, 36; Philip Alexander Bruce, Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2nd ed. (Lynchburg, VA: Bell, 1927) 255-6; Wesley Frank Craven, White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1971) 1; Gloria L. Main, Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982)

256, 260. For a minority viewpoint stressing a Celtic descent, see John E. Manahan, "The Cavalier Remounted: A Study of the Origin's of Virginia's Population, 1607-1700," diss., U of Virginia, 1946.

5. Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987). On native American influence, see Chapter 5, n. 108.

6. See, e.g., Hugh Blair Grigsby, The Virginia Convention of 1776 (Richmond, 1855) 5-6; Thomas Nelson Page, The Old South: Essays Social and Political (New York, 1892) 102-3; John Fiske, Old Virginia and her Neighbours, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, 1902) 2: 315-6, 388-9; Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (1920; New York: Holt, 1962) 65, 68, 205-6, 210; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia (1910; New York: Russell, 1958) iii-vi, 107-8, 141-2; Thomas Perkins Abernethy, "The Southern Frontier, an Interpretation," The Frontier in Perspective, ed. Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1957): 131.

7. However, some historians in contrasting colonial New England and Virginia do seem to give a fairly independent role to institutional transfer, stressing the lack of some New England institution (e.g., corporate community, Puritan ministers) that gave much freer play to environmental forces in Virginia. See, e.g., Turner, Frontier 65, 73-4, 125, 347; Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town 1630-1649 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1965) 22, 279; Page Smith, As A City Upon A Hill: The Town in American History (Cambridge: MIT P, 1966) 12-3; Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970) 47-51.

8. Here, as elsewhere, I plead guilty to the charge of "lumping" with all its inherent flaws. In this case, while increased splitting might be fairer to individual historians, I do not believe it would change my basic conclusions. See J. H. Hexter, On Historians: Reappraisals of Some of the Makers of Modern History (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1979) 241-2.

9. The modernist camp does include some intellectual historians like David Bertelson who have followed the dominant social historical interpretation. See David Bertelson, The Lazy South (New York: Oxford UP, 1967).

10. See, e.g., Wertenbaker, Patrician 107; Wertenbaker, Planters 28; Arthur Meier Schlesinger, New Viewpoints in American History (New York: Macmillan, 1922) 33; Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South (1952; New York: Atheneum, 1966) 5; Rutman, American Puritanism 48-9; Darrett B. Rutman, The Morning of America, 1603-1789 (Boston: Houghton, 1971) 42; Main, Tobacco Colony 256, 260.

11. See, e.g., Turner, Frontier 4, 9, 67, 70, 206; Schlesinger, New Viewpoints 33-4; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (1929; Boston: Little, 1946) 27; Thomas Perkins Abernethy, Three Virginia Frontiers (University, LA: Louisiana State UP, 1940) 1-28; W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage, 1941) 4; Fulmer Mood, "Studies in the History of American Settled Areas and Frontier Lines: Settled Areas and Frontier Lines, 1625-1790," Agricultural History 26 (1952): 16-24; Abernethy, "Southern Frontier" 129-32; Arthur K. Moore, The Frontier Mind: A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersmen (Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1957) 50; Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1974) 50-64. John Fiske, one of the earliest supporters of Turner, emphasized the role of the frontier in the development of North Carolina, but completely neglected any role for seventeenth-century Virginia due to continuous contact with "the currents of European thought." See Fiske 2: 315-6, 388-9. Fiske in turn may have influenced Turner's view of the earliest seaboard frontier. See Ray Allen Billington, The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971) 173, 208.

12. For historical archaeologists, see Kenneth E. Lewis, Jr., "An Archaeological Perspective on Social Change--The Virginia Frontier," The Frontier: Comparative Studies, eds. David Harry Miller and Jerome O. Steffen (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1977) 139-59; Robert Winston Keeler, "The Homelot on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Tidewater Frontier," diss., U of Oregon, 1978, 3-10; John Solomon Otto, The Southern Frontier, 1607-1860: The Agricultural Evolution of the Colonial and Antebellum South (New York: Greenwood, 1989) 9-26; Ann B. Markell, "Manufacturing Identity: Material Culture and Social Change in Seventeenth Century Virginia," diss., U of California at Berkeley, 1990.

13. Although Turner recognized many other influences on national character besides the frontier, critics and defenders alike would not deny that the physical environment stands out as his central theme. See Avery Craven, "Frederick Jackson Turner," The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography, ed. William T. Hutchinson (Chicago:



Chicago UP, 1937) 259-61; George Wilson Pierson, "The Frontier and American Institutions: A Criticism of the Turner Theory," New England Quarterly 15 (1942): 226-7; Edward N. Saveth, American Historians and European Immigrants 1875-1925 (1948; New York: Russell, 1965) 122-37; Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner," Historians of the American Frontier: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook, ed. John R. Winder (New York: Greenwood, 1988) 663-73.

14. A. Craven, "Turner" 255-6; George Wilson Pierson, "The Frontier and Frontiersmen of Turner's Essays: A Scrutiny of the Foundations of the Middle Western Tradition," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 64 (1940): 449-78; Pierson, "Frontier and American Institutions" 227-30; Hofstadter, Progressive Historians 84-6. On Turner's blend of evolutionary science and myth, see Richard Hofstadter, "Turner and the Frontier Myth," American Scholar 18 (1949): 433-43; Hofstadter, Progressive Historians 73-6; Lee Benson, "The Historian as Mythmaker: Turner and the Closed Frontier," The Frontier in American Development: Essays in Honor of Paul Wallance Gates, ed. David M. Ellis (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1969) 3-19. Reginald Horsman analyzes earlier nineteenth-century efforts at interweaving religious and scientific traditions to mythologize the American frontier. See Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1981). On connections between scientific racism, Teutonism, and the frontier myth, see also Bronwen J. Cohen, "Nativism and Western Myth: The Influence of Nativist Ideas on the American Self-Image," Journal of American Studies 8 (1974): 23-39.

15. Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920, 3 vols. (1927; Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1987) 1: 140-7; Arthur Alphonse Ekirch, Jr., The Idea of Progress in American, 1815-1860 (1944; New York: AMS, 1969) 36; Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1950); Reinhold Niebuhr, The Irony of American History (New York: Scribner's, 1952) 24; Alan Heimert, "Puritanism, the Wilderness, and the Frontier," New England Quarterly 26 (1953): 361-82; Louis B. Wright, Culture on the Moving Frontier (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1955) 11-45; Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1956) 1-15; Harvey Wish, The American Historian: A Social-Intellectual History of the Writing of the American Past (New York: Oxford UP, 1960) 3-6, 71, 85; Rush Welter, "The Frontier West as Image of American Society: Conservative Attitudes before the Civil War," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 46 (1960): 593-614; Charles L. Sanford, The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination (Urbana: U of Illinois P,

1961); George H. Williams, Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought: The Biblical Experience of the Desert in the History of Christianity and the Paradise Theme in the Theological Idea of the University (New York: Harper, 1962); Frederick Merk, Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation (New York: Knopf, 1963); Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "Space, Time, Culture and the New Frontier," Agricultural History 38 (1964): 21-30; Leo Marx, The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America (New York: Oxford UP, 1964); Howard Mumford Jones, O Strange New World: American Culture: The Formative Years (New York: Viking, 1964) 1-70; David W. Noble, Historians against History: The Frontier Thesis and the National Covenant in American Historical Writing since 1830 (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1965); William Appleman Williams, The Contours of American History (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1966) 182-5, 270, 364; Mircea Eliade, "Paradise and Utopia: Mythical Geography and Eschatology," Utopias and Utopian Thought, ed. Frank E. Manuel (Boston: Beacon, 1967) 260-80; Ernest Lee Tuveson, Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1968); Peter N. Carroll, Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier 1629-1700 (New York: Columbia UP, 1969) 1-16, 50-86; Hofstadter, Progressive Historians 147-8; Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1973) 1-43; Sacvan Berkovitch, The American Jeremiad (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1978); Oscar Handlin, Truth in History (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1979) 43-58; Merle Curti, Human Nature in American Thought: A History (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1980) 409; Ray Allen Billington, Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Norton, 1981) 1-10; Lyman Tower Sargent, "Utopianism in Colonial American," History of Political Thought 4 (1983): 483-522; Richard Slotkin, The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization 1800-1890 (New York: Atheneum, 1985) 33-47.

16. On the Hobbesian emphasis in the twentieth-century frontier myth, see Turner, Frontier 30, 32, 37, 77-8, 107, 153-5, 203, 209-13, 258-65, 270-3, 279-81, 302-9, 318-21, 348-9; Schlesinger, New Viewpoints 33-4; Henry A. Wallace, New Frontiers (New York: Reynal, 1934) 269-87; J. A. Burkhardt, "The Turner Thesis: A Historian's Controversy," Wisconsin Magazine of History 31 (1947): 79-80; Warren I. Susman, "The Useless Past: American Intellectuals and the Frontier Thesis: 1910-1930," Bucknell Review 11 (1963): 1-20; Steven Kesselman, "The Frontier Thesis and the Great Depression," Journal of the History of Ideas 29 (1968): 253-68; Hofstadter, Progressive Historians 87-9, 141-2, 144, 473; Billington, Land of Savagery 10; David M. Wrobel, The

End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal (Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 1993) 78-85, 98-111, 127-42. On Hobbes's own description of the state of nature, see Milton L. Myers, The Soul of Modern Economic Man: Ideas of Self-Interest Thomas Hobbes to Adam Smith (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983) 31-2; Roger Trigg, Ideas of Human Nature: An Historical Introduction (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988) 60-1. The communitarian version goes back at least to Aristotle's espousal of the social nature of man in rejection of the atomistic theories of the pre-Socratics and in more recent times has flourished among Reform Darwinists, New Deal advocates, substantivist anthropologists, and Thompsonian Marxist historians. See, e.g., Wallace 274-6; Charles A. Beard, "Turner's 'The Frontier in American History,'" The Books That Changed Our Minds, eds. Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1970) 69-70; Mody C. Boatright, "The Myth of Frontier Individualism," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly 22 (1941): 14-32; Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization 1790-1860 (New York: Harper, 1963) 159-60; Karl Polanyi, Primitive, Archaic, and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi, ed. George Dalton (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1968) 59-77; James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mental-ity in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 3-32; Sargent 483-4, 500-22; William A. Galston, "Liberal Virtue," American Political Science Review 82 (1988): 1277-90; Darrett B. Rutman, Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1600-1850 (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1994) 34-40, 287-304. That Turner himself recognized the importance of frontier cooperation (although never fully reconciling with his overall Hobbesian-Darwinian framework), see Turner, Frontier 257-8, 277, 342-4, 358. On Lubberland and popular utopias from the classical era to the present, see Parrington 1: 137-40; Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (1935; New York: Octagon, 1965) 290-303; George Boas, Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1948) 154-74; A. L. Morton, The English Utopia (London: Lawrence, 1952); A. Moore, Frontier Mind 25-43; Richard M. Gummere, The American Colonial Mind and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Comparative Culture (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1963) 20-36; Bertelson 14; Nash 9; Eliade 260-80; Martin Roth, Comedy and America: The Lost World of Washington Irving (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1976) 129-43; Sargent 484-6; Hal Rammel, Nowhere in America: The Big Rock Candy Mountain and Other Comic Utopias (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1990). On the blurring of pagan and Judeo-Christian frontier concepts, see Loren Baritz, "The Idea of the West," American Historical Review 66 (1961): 618-40. For a suggestive link between Judeo-Christian and Social Darwinist ideologies, see



Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-Made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1954) 83-7.

17. See, e.g., Gene M. Gressley, "The Turner Thesis--a Problem in Historiography," Agricultural History 32 (1958): 230; William Coleman, "Science and Symbol in the Turner Frontier Hypothesis," American Historical Review 72 (1966): 47. Four years previous to Turner's address, Henry Adams even more clearly outlined this powerful synthesis of Darwinian science and the Judeo-Christian tradition to capture the essence of democratic progress in America by simply synthesizing the polemical views of Europeans, Federalists, and Jeffersonians on the American or Western character. See Henry Adams, History of the United States of America during the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson, 2 vols. (New York, 1891) 1: 156-84; Henry Adams, History of the United States of America during the Second Administration of James Madison, 3 vols. (New York, 1891) 3: 221-5. Turner equally depended on these polemical views and their power to persuade continues to the present in Turner's latter-day disciple Ray Allen Billington. See Billington, America's Frontier Heritage vi-vii, 63-6, 163-8, 200-1, 249n56; Billington, Land of Savagery 195-225.

18. Historians have traditionally emphasized the individualistic nature of Southern migration and settlement in contrast to the group migration and covenanted community of the North. See, e.g., Turner, Frontier 125; P. Smith, City 12-3. Attempts by Darrett Rutman and other Chesapeake historians to salvage the notion of "community" in early Virginia by expunging the popular communitarian myth from early American historiography bespeaks further the failure to fit seventeenth-century Virginia into the "American" frontier tradition and does not immunize these historians from the Hobbesian label. Cf. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, "Introduction," Colonial Chesapeake Society, eds. Lois Green Carr et al. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 1-6, esp. 5n4.

19. David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1954); Jerome O. Steffen, The Tragedy of Abundance (Niwot, CO: UP of Colorado, 1993). Some modernists differentiate the pursuit of status and the pursuit of wealth but in the context of seventeenth-century Virginia, where historians equate wealth and status, such moot distinctions become too subtle to consider here. See, e.g., Billington, American Frontier Thesis 42.

20. Charles Darwin, The Origin of the Species...and The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex (New York: Modern Library, n.d.) 501-11; Saveth 90-7. The inherent

racism in the frontier thesis becomes obvious from the complete dismissal of the humans on the other side of the frontier who simply become part of the environment. See Pierson, "Frontier and Frontiersmen," 461; David A. Nichols, "Civilization over Savage: Frederick Jackson Turner and the Indian," South Dakota History 2 (1972): 383-405; R. White, "Turner" 665. Although Turner's environmentalism was perhaps less racist than earlier Teutonic "germ" theories of history by at least making room for the other Northern European peoples, he no more than his fellow late nineteenth-century historians could escape the influence of Anglo-Saxon racism. See Gilman M. Ostrander, "Turner and the Germ Theory," Agricultural History 32 (1958): 258-61; Wish 183-7. Of course, even liberal historians who criticize late nineteenth-century racism, often are guilty themselves of a milder form in continuing to equate United States history with English colonization. Cf. Hofstadter, Progressive Historians 5, 73-4. For a more complex frontier approach recognizing both the environmental and cultural impact of the Indians on Anglo-American society, see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "The North American Frontier as Process and Context," The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared, eds. Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson (New Haven: Yale UP, 1981) 43-75.

21. Carl Lotus Becker, Beginnings of the American People (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915) 70, 79, 166-7; Cash 8; P. Miller, Errand 4-9, 127-8, 139-40; Bertelson, Lazy South; Sigmund Diamond, "Values as Obstacles to Economic Growth: The American Colonies," Journal of Economic History 27 (1967): 561-75; Edmund S. Morgan, "The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 28 (1971): 169-98; Morgan, "The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-18," American Historical Review 76 (1971): 595-611; Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: Norton, 1975); Edgar T. Thompson, Plantation Societies, Race Relations, and the South: The Regimentation of Populations (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1975) 223-5, 276; Richard D. Brown, Modernization: The Transformation of American Life 1600-1865 (New York: Hill, 1976) 40-4; T. H. Breen, Puritans and Adventurers: Change and Persistence in Early America (New York: Oxford UP, 1980); Jack P. Greene, Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 10-5; Martin H. Quitt, "Immigrant Origins of the Virginia Gentry: A Study of Cultural Transmission and Innovation," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 45 (1988) 638-9; D. Rutman, Small Worlds xiii. For similar interpretations of New England, see Parrington 1: 3-7; Charles S. Grant, Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent (New York: Columbia UP, 1961); Rutman, Winthrop's Boston 21-

40, 90-7, 143; John Frederick Martin, Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1991) 3-4. Louis Hartz at one point conceives all of American history in terms of a struggle for "survival" in "the capitalist race." See Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution (New York: Harcourt, 1955) 52. For a critique of this view for early America including seventeenth-century Virginia, see J. E. Crowley, This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974) 1-2.

22. On non-American frontiers, see the essays in Wyman and Kroeber. On non-English immigrants, see Richard H. Shryock, "British versus German Traditions in Colonial Agriculture," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 26 (1939): 39-54; Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585-1763, 3 vols. (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1978) 2: 938-4. That Turner recognized the peculiar German influence, even if he never developed the theme, see Turner, Frontier 110. On isolationism, see James C. Malin, "Space and History: Reflections on the Closed-Space Doctrines of Turner and Mackinder and the Challenge of Those Ideas by the Air Age," Agricultural History 18 (1944): 67; Carlton J. H. Hayes, "The American Frontier--Frontier of What?," American Historical Review 51 (1946): 199-216; H. Smith, Virgin Land 260; Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Vintage, 1955) 50; David W. Noble, The End of American History: Democracy, Capitalism, and the Metaphor of Two Worlds in Anglo-American Historical Writing, 1880-1980 (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1985).

23. Schlesinger, New Viewpoints 33, 37; Bridenbaugh 12-13; Stanley M. Elkins, Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life, 3rd ed. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1976) 43-4; Berkhofer, "Space" 26-7, 29-30; Rutman, Winthrop's Boston 43, 47, 52, 248-9; Clement Eaton, A History of the Old South, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1966) 53-4; Rutman, Morning 42; Carole Shammas, "English-Born and Creole Elites in Turn-of-the-Century Virginia," The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 278-80; Ritchie Devon Watson, Jr., The Cavalier in Virginia Fiction (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1985) 33-58; Quitt 630-1, 642-5. Cf. Hartz 52. Abernethy, while acknowledging this thesis as the norm for most frontiers, rejects its applicability to the Tidewater Virginia frontier due to the involuntary migration of indentured servants that prevented the development of a true class of frontiersmen for over a century. See Abernethy,



"Southern Frontier" 130. See also A. Moore, Frontier Mind 50.

24. Morris Talpalar, The Sociology of Colonial Virginia (New York: Philosophical Library, 1960) 60; Rutman, Morning 2-8; R. Brown, Modernization 26-36; Paul G. E. Clemens, The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell UP, 1980) 40-3, 51; Greene, Pursuits 34-6. Both Rutman and Brown flip-flop on the presumed degree of English modernization, stressing sometimes traditional, sometimes modern, but usually ambiguously transitional characteristics. Perhaps this ambiguity reflects simply the inherent problem of American historians trying to reach conclusions about early American society based on an incomplete understanding of contemporary English society as a field outside of their expertise and subject to substantial revision in the rapidly changing field of early modern English historiography. On the other hand, following the two most thorough searches of the secondary English literature by scholars of early America, Jack P. Greene and David Hackett Fischer present starkly opposing interpretations suggesting each focused on different halves of the many "half-truths" of early modern English history. See Keith Wrightson, English Society 1580-1680 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1982) 41; Greene, Pursuits; David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford UP, 1989).

25. Clemens, Atlantic Economy 222; Main, Tobacco Colony 7-8, 71, 253; Charles Wetherell, "'Boom and Bust' in the Colonial Chesapeake," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 15 (1984): 209; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984) 42-3, 75, 183-4; Anita H. Rutman, "Still Planting the Seeds of Hope: The Recent Literature of the Early Chesapeake Region," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 95 (1987): 3-24. See, however, Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 237. As will be shown in Chapter 7, the "St. Mary's school" and "Rutman school" differ not so much on immediate goals as differences in strategies to achieve the common goal of capital maximization.

26. Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (1933; New York: Peter Smith, 1958); Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," Journal of Southern History 33 (1967): 469-85; Irene W.D. Hecht, "The Virginia Colony, 1607-1640: A Study in Frontier Growth," diss., U of Washington, 1969, 183-5; David Klingaman, "The Significance of Grain in the Development of the Tobacco Colonies," Journal of Economic History 29 (1969): 276; Terry L. Anderson and Robert Paul Thomas, "Economic Growth in the

Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," Explorations in Economic History 15 (1978): 374; Allan Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture?," Journal of Southern History 45 (1979): 525; David W. Galenson and Russell R. Menard, "Approaches to the Analysis of Economic Growth in Colonial British America," Historical Methods 13 (1980): 6-10; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1985).

27. Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1940) 37, 2. See Wright, First Gentlemen 2-5, 37, 63; Peter Laslett, "The Gentry of Kent in 1640," Cambridge Historical Journal 9 (1948): 160-3; Peter Laslett, "Sir Robert Filmer: The Man versus the Whig Myth," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 5 (1948): 531; Merle Curti, The Growth of American Thought, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper, 1951) 28-32; Louis B. Wright, The British Tradition in America (Birmingham: Trustees of the Rushton Lectures, 1954) 9-10; Wright, Culture 21-2; Talpalar 208-9; Hubbell, Southern Life 41, 44-5; Pierre Marambaud, William Byrd of Westover 1674-1744 (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1971) 5; Virginia Bernhard, "Poverty and the Social Order in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 85 (1977): 141-55; R. Davis, Intellectual Life 1: xxix; 2: 937-9; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) vii-viii, 65-6, 74-5; Richard Gray, Writing the South: Ideas of an American Region (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) 11, 14-5, 292n50; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "The Real and Mythical Souths," Southern Review 24 (1988): 230-1; David Hackett Fischer, "Albion and the Critics: Further Evidence and Reflection," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 48 (1991): 287-8. More recently, Laslett has swung over to the modernist position. While still maintaining that "the plantation-owners of Virginia looked upon themselves from the very beginning as the overseas branches of English county families," Laslett, following the work of C. B. Macpherson, now believes that the English gentry had become "imbued with bourgeois values" by the mid-seventeenth century. See Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost, 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner's, 1973) 35-9, 63, 268n32. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the basis for Laslett's belief in greater detail.

28. Bruce, Social Life 24-5; James Truslow Adams, Provincial Society 1690-1763 (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 210; Wright, First Gentlemen 7, 46; Wright, Culture 15-34; Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York: Random, 1958) 99, 103, 105, 108, 140; Carl N. Degler, Out of

Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper, 1970) 1, 6, 15n.

29. Wright, First Gentlemen 9. See also Wright, First Gentlemen 4-5, 35, 77, 92, 130, 178; Abernethy, Three Virginia Frontiers 17-8; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor xiii, 32-3. Bernard Bailyn proves difficult to classify in either modernist or traditionalist camp. In his classic 1959 essay, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," similar to some traditionalists, he highlights the influx of more genteel immigrants during and immediately after the Commonwealth period. But whereas traditionalists emphasizing an exodus tend to downplay the pre-exodus years in their interpretation of seventeenth-century Virginia, Bailyn gives equal weight to the early and later periods dichotomizing the colonists into "old immigrants"--"crudely ambitious men concerned with profits and increased landholdings, not the grace of life" who "succeeded not because of, but despite, whatever gentility they may have had"--and "new immigrants"--"ambitious younger sons of middle-class families who knew well enough what gentility was and sought it as a specific objective." See Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1959) 95, 100. This synthetic approach perhaps explains the continuing popularity of this essay among historians on both sides of the debate although few, if any, follow his interpretation to explain economic (in contrast to political) developments in late seventeenth-century Virginia. For a less successful effort at a modernist-traditionalist synthesis splitting immigrants into earlier Puritans and later Cavaliers, see Talpalar, Sociology.

30. Wright, First Gentlemen 4-5.

31. Bruce, Social Life 160; Wright, First Gentlemen 4-7.

32. Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1895; New York: Peter Smith, 1935) 2: 131-241; Institutional History 1: 3-289; Social Life 12-6, 255-8; Mary N. Stanard, Colonial Virginia: Its People and Customs (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1917); Wright, First Gentlemen 9, 35, 60, 66-9, 72-81, 92, 176; Clifford Dowdey, The Virginia Dynasties: The Emergence of "King" Carter and the Golden Age (Boston: Little, 1969) 14; Richard Beale Davis, Literature and Society in Early Virginia, 1608-1840 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1973) xiii-xxiv; Davis, Intellectual Life 1: xxix-xxi, xxxi; 2: 13, 3: 1313, 1576; Fischer, Albion's Seed 232-6, 332-40.



33. Louis B. Wright, The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization [1607-1763] (New York: Knopf, 1947) 6; Abernethy, Three Virginia Frontiers 1-28; Clifford Dowdey, The Great Plantation: A Profile of Berkeley Hundred and Plantation Virginia from Jamestown to Appomattox (New York: Bonanza, 1957) 8-10; Dowdey, Virginia Dynasties 9; Fischer, Albion's Seed 252.

34. Maud Wilder Goodwin, The Colonial Cavalier or Southern Life Before the Revolution (New York, 1894) 7, 39-41; J. Clarence Stonebraker, The Puritan and the Cavalier (Hagerstown, MD: privately printed, 1915) 7-9; Frederick Jackson Turner, The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1938) 78-9; Davis, Intellectual Life 2: 962. While traditionalists have used climate and soil fertility to explain the persistence and distinctiveness of traditional Southern habits, both factors have played negligible roles in modernist interpretations. On the role of climate in Southern exceptionalism, see Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The First Americans 1607-1690 (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 75-6; Phillips, Life and Labor 3-5, 29-33; Clarence Cason, 90 in the Shade (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1935); Shields McIlwaine, The Southern Poor-White: From Lubberland to Tobacco Road (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1939) xxi, 13; Cash 46-51; Wright, Culture 29; William A. Foran, "Southern Legend: Climate or Climate of Opinion?" The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association 1956, ed. Daniel W. Hollis (Columbia: South Carolina Historical Association, 1957) 6-22; James C. Bonner, "Plantation and Farm: The Agricultural South," Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green, eds. Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1965) 150-2; David L. Smiley, "The Quest for the Central Theme in Southern History," South Atlantic Quarterly 71 (1972): 309-13; Julius Rubin, "The Limits of Agricultural Progress in the Nineteenth-Century South," Agricultural History 49 (1975): 362-73; Thompson 78-9; A. Cash Koeniger, "Climate and Southern Distinctiveness," Journal of Southern History 54 (1988): 21-44; Fischer, Albion's Seed 252.

35. Bruce, Social Life 120n; Wright, First Gentlemen 51-2; Dowdey, Great Plantation 8; Dowdey, Virginia Dynasties 9, 13, 15; Boorstin 99, 103, 105-9; Marambaud 7, 147, 155-7; Davis, Intellectual Life 1: 102; 3: 1586.

36. Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 21.

37. J. Adams, Provincial Society 210; Wright, First Gentlemen 59, 160, 185; Wright, Culture 11-30. Most traditionalists restrict this emphasis on "honor" to the Virginia elite, but recently Bertram Wyatt-Brown and his confrere

David Hackett Fischer have extended the concept to all the early settlers of Virginia. They identify two different types of honor in early America: "primal honor" with Indo-European roots and "gentility" evolving out of "the Stoic-Christian system" cultivated by the 16th-century English humanists. Immigrants of all classes carried both of these ethics to seventeenth-century Virginia, although gentility required high social position to effect. See Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor vii, 26-34, 74, 78-90; Fischer, Albion's Seed 396; Fischer, "Albion and the Critics" 288. See further Chapter 5.

38. Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1935) 185; Wright, First Gentlemen 43-7, 51, 63-4, 71, 95; Wright, Culture 43; Dowdey, Great Plantation 75; Bailyn, "Politics" 94-5; Bernhard 141-55; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 73-4.

39. Wertenbaker, Patrician 91-106; J. Adams, Provincial Society 210; Bridenbaugh 5; Bailyn, "Politics" 95; Eaton, History 52-3, 69; Shammass, "English-Born" 278-80; Quitt 642-5.

40. Bruce, Economic History 1:576-84; Wertenbaker, Patrician 150, 161-3; Schlesinger, New Viewpoints 3; Wertenbaker, Planters 34-6; Bruce, Social Life 12-6, 102-3, 255-8; J. Adams, Provincial Society 198-9; Phillips, Life and Labor 22; Wright, First Gentlemen 4, 43-4; Wright, Culture 21; Morton, Colonial Virginia 1: 195; Dowdey, Virginia Dynasties 13-4; Rutman, Morning 75-6; W. Craven, White 1; Main, Tobacco Colony 10-11; Clemens, Atlantic Economy 48.

41. On Tuckahoe culture, see William E. Dodd, Statesmen of the Old South, or From Radicalism to Conservative Revolt (1911; New York: Book League of America, 1929) 15-6; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, American Negro Slavery (1918; New York: D. Appleton, 1928): 324-7, 359-401; Phillips, Life and Labor 35, 40-1, 354-7, 365; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Old South: The Founding of American Civilization (1942; New York: Cooper Square, 1963) 164-219; Eaton, History 48-9; Cash 4-8; Thompson 225. On the commercial orientation and industriousness of the Virginia aristocracy, see Wertenbaker, First Americans 259-60; Wright, First Gentlemen 57-9, 156n2, 157; Hartz 52; Bridenbaugh 13-7; Wright, Atlantic Frontier 70, 93; Wright, Culture 20; Jacob M. Price, "The French Farmers-General in the Chesapeake: The Mackercher-Huber Mission of 1737-1738," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 14 (1957): 152; Bailyn, "Politics" 107; Fishwick 32; Stuart Bruchey, The Roots of American Economic Growth 1607-1861 (New York: Harper, 1965) 40-1; Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," Journal of Southern History 33 (1967):

469-85; Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 24 (1967): 3-43; Marambaud 7; R. Brown, Modernization 8-9; D. D. Bruce, Jr., "Play, Work, and Ethics in the Old South," Southern Folklore Quarterly 40 (1977): 34, 46; Michael Greenberg, "William Byrd II and the World of the Market," Southern Studies 16 (1977): 429-56; Joyce Appleby, "Commercial Farming and the 'Agrarian Myth' in the Early Republic," Journal of American History 68 (1982): 833-49; Rhys Isaac, The Transformation of Virginia 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1982) 22-30; Main, Tobacco Colony 79; Michael Zuckerman, "Fate, Flux, and Good Fellowship: An Early Virginia Design for the Dilemma of American Business," Business and Its Environment: Essays for Thomas C. Cochran, ed. Harold Issadore Sharlin (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1983) 161-84; R. Gray 12-3; R. Watson, Cavalier 46; Greene, Pursuits 98-9; Quitt 631, 648-55.

42. D. R. Hundley, Social Relations in Our Southern States (1860; New York: Arno, 1973) 91-100, 109-303; Fiske 219; Phillips, American Negro Slavery 397-8; Wertenbaker, Planters 154-5; Wright, First Gentlemen 45-6; Robert E. Brown and B. Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy? (East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1964) 43-4, 64; C. Vann Woodward, "The Southern Ethic in a Puritan World," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 25 (1968): 360; R. Gray, Writing 12; A. Rutman, "Still Planting" 15-6. On demographic changes, see Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986) 37-63, 165-204.

43. Wright, First Gentlemen 51, 63, 71; Wright, Atlantic Frontier 70, 93; J. Adams, Provincial Society 210-2; Main, Tobacco Colony 78-9; Stuart Bruchey, "Economy and Society in an Earlier America," Journal of Economic History 47 (1987): 304-5; Greene, Pursuits 93, 97; Quitt 631, 648-55. Other less popular explanations of the transformation include that of Bailyn, Talpalar, Wyatt-Brown, and Fischer which stresses a shift in the type of immigrant and Kenneth A. Lockridge's emphasis on a reaction to the domestic challenge of Bacon's Rebellion. See Kenneth Lockridge The Diary, and Life, of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674-1744 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1987) 13-4.

44. J. Adams, Provincial Society 211-2; Cash 8; Hartz 52; Wright, Culture 43; Kenneth S. Lynn, Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor (Boston: Little, 1959) 3-22; Hugh F. Rankin, "The Colonial South," Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green, eds. Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State UP, 1965) 6; Bruchey, Roots 38-9; Eaton, Growth 1-3; Ronald L. Davis, "Culture on the Frontier," Southwest Review 53



(1968): 387-91; Jack P. Greene, "Search for Identity: An Interpretation of the Meaning of Selected Patterns of Social Response in Eighteenth-Century America," Journal of Social History 3 (1970): 189-224; Greene, "Society, Ideology, and Politics: An Analysis of the Political Culture of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia," Society, Freedom, and Conscience: The American Revolution in Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York, ed. Richard M. Jellison (New York: Norton, 1976): 42; Shammass, "English-Born" 285-9; A. G. Roeber, Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1680-1810 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1981) 24-34; Daniel Joseph Singal, The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919-1945 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1982) 17-21; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 88; R. Gray, Writing 11-7; T. H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," Journal of British Studies 25 (1986) 496-9; Greene, Pursuits 85; Quitt 643; Fischer, Albion's Seed 359-60.

45. Rutman, Morning 82, 92-3; R. Brown, Modernization 62-5, 70, 142-8; Greene, Pursuits; Quitt 631, 648-55.

46. Bailyn, "Politics" 95.

47. Wertenbaker, Patrician 44-6, 137-41; Becker 72-4; J. Adams, Provincial Society 210-2; Phillips, Life and Labor 27; Wright, First Gentlemen 39-43, 51, 63, 71, 185; Wright, Atlantic Frontier 70-1; Wright, Culture 22-6; Bailyn, "Politics" 90-115; Eaton, History 63; Quitt 650. Dowdey traces a similar periodization through the history of the successive Benjamin Harrisons. See Dowdey, Great Plantation.

48. J. Adams, Provincial Society 210; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, The Formative Years 1607-1763 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964) 53; Greene, Pursuits 8-18, 81-100. Alternatively, historians emphasizing a periodization based on political events have marked the end the frontier phase with Bacon's Rebellion and the intensification of Anglo-American interaction. See Turner, Frontier 70; Alison Olson, Anglo-American Politics, 1660-1775 (London: Oxford UP, 1973); Stephen Saunders Webb, The Governors-General: The English Army and the Definition of the Empire, 1569-1681 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979); John H. Murrin, "Political Development," Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984) 413. Jon Kukla pushes the Bailyn political transformation back in time, identifying the end of the Hobbesian frontier phase in the 1630s. See Jon Kukla, "Order and Chaos in Early America: Political and Social Stability in Pre-Restoration Virginia," American

Historical Review 90 (1985): 275-98; Kukla, Political Institutions xviii-xx, 30-5. See also Chapter 3.

49. Wyatt-Brown, "Real and Mythical Souths" 231-2; Fischer, Albion's Seed 225, 225n30; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "Comments on David Fischer's Albion's Seed," unpublished essay, 1989; Fischer, "Albion and the Critics" 286. Abernethy offers a much milder criticism of historians living in "a world grown bourgeois and proletarian." See Abernethy, Three Virginia Frontiers 17.

50. Fiske 2: 11; Francis P. Gaines, The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and the Accuracy of a Tradition (1924; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1962) 23-4; Parrington 2: 28; Jay B. Hubbell, "Cavalier and Indentured Servant in Virginia Fiction," South Atlantic Quarterly 26 (1927) 25-7, 34-7; Cash ix; Rollin G. Osterweis, Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South (New Haven: Yale UP, 1949); H. Smith, Virgin Land 123-54; Wright, First Gentlemen 43; Wesley Frank Craven, The Legend of the Founding Fathers (New York: New York UP, 1956) 109-13, 129-30; Marshall W. Fishwick, Virginia: A New Look at the Old Dominion (New York: Harper, 1959) 110-1; Wish 238-9; William R. Taylor, Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character (New York: Harper, 1961) 15-6; Eaton, Growth 2, 150; Jay B. Hubbell, South and Southwest: Literary Essays and Reminiscences (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1965) 228-39; Eaton, History 52; Bertelson 177-92; R. Brown, Modernization 146-8; Jan C. Dawson, "The Puritan and the Cavalier: The South's Perception of Contrasting Traditions," Journal of Southern History 44 (1978): 597-614; Singal, War Within 12-4; Jan C. Dawson, The Unusable Past: America's Puritan Tradition, 1830 to 1930 (Chico, CA: Scholars, 1984) 61-75; R. Watson, Cavalier 7; James Tice Moore, "Of Cavaliers and Yankees: Frederick W. M. Halliday and the Sectional Crisis, 1845-1861," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 99 (1991): 351-2. Wesley Frank Craven traces the role that certain antebellum Virginian historians like John Burk played in formulating the Cavalier legend. However, noting that many others like William W. Hening, Conway Robinson, Charles Campbell, George Tucker, Joseph Martin, and Hugh Blair Grigsby either opposed or were indifferent to the Cavaliers, Craven concludes that these historians played little role in shaping the popular tradition. See W. Craven, Legend 48, 70-1, 110-2.

51. Saveth 15-42, 90-7, 201-2; Lee Benson, Turner and Beard: American Historical Writing Reconsidered (New York: Free, 1960) 41-91; Wish 238; G. Edward White, "The Social Values of the Progressives: Some New Perspectives," South Atlantic Quarterly 70 (1971): 62-76; Raymond H. Pulley, Old Virginia Restored: An Interpretation of the Progressive Impulse 1870-1930 (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1968) 60; Dewey W.

Grantham, Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1983) 34n101; Peter Novick, That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 74-82; Randall M. Miller, "The Birth (and Life) of A Journal: A 100-Year Retrospective of the Virginia Magazine of History and Biography," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 100 (1992): 154. Saveth's book remains the only thorough analysis of the influence of the currents of scientific racism (e.g., Teutonism) and Social Darwinism on American historians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

52. See, e.g., Thomas Nelson Page, The Old Dominion: Her Making and Her Manners, The Novels, Stories, Sketches and Poems of Thomas Nelson Page, Vol. XIII (New York: Scribner's, 1909) 372-3; Jay Broadus Hubbell, Virginia Life in Fiction (n.p, n.d) 26; Wish 236-7; Rankin 8-9; Novick 73; R. Miller, "Birth" 157-8. For contrasting views of the New England bias in national historiography, cf. Stonebraker 7; Parrington 1: 3; Davis, Intellectual Life 1: xxiii, xxvi.

53. John Esten Cooke, Virginia: A History of the People (1883; Boston: Houghton, 1903) 159-62, 182; Fiske 2: 13-7, 34-5, 216-8. Cf. Page, Old South 8-9; William Garrott Brown, The Lower South in American History (1902; New York: Greenwood, 1969) 5-6. See also Hubbell, Virginia Life 26-8; Harriet R. Holman, "The Literary Career of Thomas Nelson Page, 1884-1910," diss., Duke U, 1947, 66-7; W. Craven, Legend 130, 149-50; Jay B. Hubbell, The South in American Literature 1607-1900 (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1954) 695-709; Wish 109-15; 238; Joyce Appleby, "Reconciliation and the Northern Novelist," Civil War History 10 (1964): 117-29; Paul M. Gaston, The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking (New York: Knopf, 1970) 92, 170-81; Novick 74-8; R. Miller, "Birth" 155-6.

54. [William G. Stanard], rev. of Barons of the Potomac and Rappahannock, by Moncure D. Conway, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 1 (1893): 215-9; W. Brown, Lower South 6-7; W. Craven, Legend 129n.

55. Fiske 2: 216-8.

56. Bruce, Social Life 27-97. See also Wertenbaker, Patri-cian 20-2, 155; Wertenbaker, Planters 77-80.

57. See, e.g., Frederick Jackson Turner, rev. of Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, by Philip Alexander Bruce, American Historical Review 13 (1907): 610; William E. Dodd, rev. of Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, American Historical Review 16 (1910): 168-



9; [Lyon G. Tyler], "Colonial History Debunked," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine 8 (1926): 2-5; Parrington 2: 6-7; Wright, First Gentlemen 39-43; Cash 3-4; Wright, British Tradition 9; Wright, Culture 21; Richard L. Morton, ed., The Present State of Virginia, by Hugh Jones (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1956) 180-2n60; Dowdey, Great Plantation 9-10; Boorstin 105-9; Bailyn, "Politics" 98; Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1960) 1: 166-8; Darrett B. Rutman, "Philip Alexander Bruce: A Divided Mind of the South," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 68 (1960): 402-3; Rankin 15; Hubbell, South and Southwest 229; Eaton, History 52; Dowdey, Virginia Dynasties 13; Marambaud 259-61; Davis, Intellectual Life 3: 1519. Wertenbaker, well noting that serious scholars had long rejected the antebellum Cavalier myth of aristocratic origins, notoriously harped on this straw man argument playing on the ubiquitous confusion in the terminology (e.g., "Cavaliers" as a broad-based political party versus "cavaliers" as seventeenth-century English aristocrats) for the purposes of defending a thesis that revolved more around the dominant spirit of seventeenth-century Virginia society. See Wertenbaker, Patrician i, 1-3, 18-30, 166-7.

58. The exception that proves the rule is Manahan's unpublished dissertation, with its emphasis on Celtic racial and political origins of a great Cavalier exodus, a thesis that has attracted little attention from scholars. See n. 4 above.

59. See, e.g., Wright, First Gentlemen 38-40; R. Gray, Writing.

60. Fischer, Albion's Seed 207-25; James Horn, "Cavalier Culture?: The Social Development of Colonial Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 48 (1991): 239-41; Fischer, "Albion and the Critics" 286-7.

61. Michael Kraus, The Writing of American History (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1953) 304; W. Craven, Legend 129-30; Fishwick 274-5; Rutman, "Bruce" 387-407; Rankin 9; L. Moody Simms, "Philip Alexander Bruce: His Life and Works," diss., U of Virginia, 1966, 192-4.

62. Page, Old South 5-10, 100-8; Page, Old Dominion 137; Goodwin 7-8; Bassett ix-xii; Robert M. Hughes, "Genesis of the F.F.V.," William and Mary Quarterly 2nd ser. 6 (1926): 230-2, 240; Tyler, "Colonial" 1-4; Bruce, Social Life 160; Wright, Atlantic Frontier 70-1; Morton, Present State 181n60; Morton, Colonial Virginia 1: 166-8; Hubbell, Southern Life 37; Rankin 15; Dowdey, Virginia Dynasties 16-8. Bishop Meade, based on the best genealogical data of his

age, had developed a similar view before the Civil War. See Bishop Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, n.d.) 1: 188-90.

63. Philip A. Bruce, The Social History of Virginia. An Address Delivered at the Final Commencement, 1881, of the Onancock Academy, Virginia (n.p.: Miller School Print, 1881); Bruce, Institutional History 2: 605-36; Bruce, Social Life 23, 109, 143, 160, 163; Bruce, rev. of The Planters of Colonial Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, American Historical Review 28 (1923): 553. Cf. Page, Old South 5-8, 103-22, 138-9; Page, Old Dominion 137-40, 151-2.

64. Wertenbaker, Patrician 33.

65. Wertenbaker, Patrician 2-3, 9-10, 16-8, 28-34, 39-60, 65-81, 90-1, 105, 132-5, 220; Wertenbaker, Old South 19-21; W. Craven, Legend 129; Fishwick 275; ver Steeg 83; Rankin 14-5; Fischer, Albion's Seed 225n30, 256n12; Fischer, "Albion and the Critics" 286, 286n47. Note, however, that Wertenbaker also acknowledged the role of cultural inheritance when he claimed that these earliest Virginians continued to look upon "the life of the country squire as the ideal existence" and that local "economic and climatic conditions" never entirely effaced imported English customs, especially "the elegance and refinement of his [the Virginia gentleman's] social life, the culture and depths of his mind." See Wertenbaker, Patrician 25, 106-7, 141-2. But apparently this ideal became activated only by accumulation of sufficient wealth and the gradual loss of the mercantile instinct. Cf., e.g., Wertenbaker, Patrician 99-106, on the growth of a sense of honor and rejection of "the commercial spirit" in eighteenth-century Virginia. Furthermore, his overwhelming emphasis on environmental factors left little room for a true synthesis of cultural and environmental factors. In the preface to the reissue of Patrician and Plebeian, he seemed to move even farther toward a compromise with Bruce in giving equal weight to inheritance, continued contact with England, and local conditions, but the nature of the balance remained ambiguous. See Wertenbaker, Patrician iii-vi.

66. Wertenbaker, Patrician 143, 155-6, 167; Wertenbaker, Old South 167. Although Wertenbaker heavily criticized the unscrupulous ways of the earliest merchant-planters, he downplayed the view of many Englishmen that Virginia was settled by the dregs of England, emphasizing rather the superior genetic stock of this imported bourgeoisie compared to a degraded English aristocracy. See Wertenbaker, Patrician 8n6, 9-15, 32-3n37, 60, 220; Wertenbaker, Planters 32-4. Perhaps Wertenbaker was influenced by Ulrich Bonnell

Phillips's sectional-frontier process, the history of the "competition of industrial units" pitting the superior slave plantation against the inferior non-slaveholding yeoman farms. Cf. Ulrich B. Phillips, "The Origin and Growth of the Southern Black Belts," American Historical Review 11 (1906): 799-800; Wertenbaker, Patrician 144-6, 210-1; Wertenbaker, Planters iii.

67. See, e.g., R. Miller, "Birth" 158. Novick 84-5, downplays the amateur-professional dichotomy. Several historians have suggested that Wertenbaker had "an axe to grind" against the aristocratic pretensions of the "First Families of Virginia." See Manahan 22; Fischer, Albion's Seed 225n30; Fischer, "Albion and the Critics" 286n47. However, Wertenbaker's approach differed little from Turner's employment of the frontier as a means to take New England historians down a notch as well as to emphasize the greater influence of American environmental over European cultural influences on the formation of the American character. Unfortunately, as Fischer has recently pointed out, despite the tremendous impact of Wertenbaker in American and especially colonial Virginia historiography, his work has amazingly failed to receive any scholarly treatment. For this reason, and since Wertenbaker leaves few explicit clues in his published writing to his intellectual sources, all insights into Wertenbaker's motivation presented herein remain conjectural.

68. Wertenbaker, Patrician 238-9; Bruce, Virginia 5: 495-8; Alexander Leitch, A Princeton Companion (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978) 500-1; John M. Murrin, "Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker," DAB, Supplement 8, eds. John A. Garraty and Mark C. Carnes (New York: Scribner's, 1988) 691-3. Novick 74, suggests a similar generational shift in the historiographical orientation toward the Civil War and Reconstruction.

69. Rutman, "Bruce" 388, 404; Simms 1-2, 139; R. Miller, "Birth" 151-8. Bruce, along with being a foremost historian of seventeenth-century Virginia, was "the first major representative" of "the New South school of historians." In his The Rise of the New South (1905), which Paul M. Gaston calls "the capstone of the New South crusade," Bruce labeled the Bourbon era the "most honorable period" in the history of the South and condemned or ignored the challenges of the Readjuster and Populist movements, views that would dominate the historiography of the South until the liberal Southern reaction of the New Deal era. See Paul M. Gaston, "The 'New South,'" Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green, eds. Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State UP, 1965) 319, 321-2, 324-5; Allen J. Goings, "The Agrarian Revolt,"



Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green, eds. Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State UP, 1965) 363; Pulley 40, 58-61; George Brown Tindall, The Persistent Tradition in New South Politics (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1975) 7-9, 15-6, 31, 50-1.

70. Gaston's New South Creed remains the best overview of the central themes and divided mind of "New South" ideology. However, Gaston, who takes a Woodwardian view of functional "Old South" elements in a "New South Creed," should be read in conjunction with Pulley viii-ix, 1-5, 24, 58-61; James Tice Moore, Two Paths to the New South: The Virginia Debt Controversy, 1870-1883 (Lexington: UP of Kentucky, 1974) 6-7, 37-45; and Tindall, Persistent Tradition 10-2, 20-3, who reverse the formula stressing functional "New South" elements in a fundamentally "Old South Creed." See also C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1951) 154-8, 167; Gaston, "'New South'" 316-36; Rollin G. Osterweis, The Myth of the Lost Cause 1865-1900 (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1973) 130-4; James Tice Moore, "Redeemers Reconsidered: Change and Continuity in the Deomcratic South, 1870-1900," Journal of Southern History 44 (1978): 357-78; Singal, War Within 9-11, 21-5; Robert J. Rusnak, Walter Hines Page and The World's Work 1900-1913 (Washington: UP of America, 1982) 75-99; Numan V. Bartley, "In Search of the New South: Southern Politics after Reconstruction," The Promise of American History: Progress and Prospects, eds. Stanley I. Kutler and Stanley N. Katz (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1982) 150-63; C. Vann Woodward, Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1986) 59-79; John Herbert Roper, C. Vann Woodward, Southerner (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1987) 148-9; Richard L. Watson, Jr., "From Populism Through the New Deal: Southern Political History," Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham, eds. John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1987) 308-89. That the "New South Creed" touched even such Old South romantics as John Esten Cooke and Thomas Nelson Page, see Thomas Nelson Page, "The Old Dominion," Harper's Magazine 88 (1893): 24; Theodore L. Gross, Thomas Nelson Page (New York: Twayne, 1967) 7-8; Gaston, New South Creed 251n42. On the the "divided mind" of other Southern historians and their role in the "New South" movement, see Wood Gray, "Ulrich Bonnell Phillips," The Marcus W. Jerneagan Essays in American Histo-riography, ed. William T. Hutchinson (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1937) 362; Eugene D. Genovese, "Race and Class in South-ern History: An Appraisal of the Work of Ulrich B. Phil-lips," Agricultural History 41 (1967): 355-8; William L. Van Deburg, "Ulrich B. Phillips: Progress and the Conservative Historian," Georgia Historical Quarterly 55 (1971): 406-16;

John Herbert Roper, "A Case of Forgotten Identity: Ulrich B. Phillips as a Young Progressive," Georgia Historical Quarterly 60 (1976): 165-75; Daniel Joseph Singal, "Ulrich B. Phillips: The Old South as the New," Journal of American History 63 (1977): 871-91; Daniel Joseph Singal, "Broadus Mitchell and the Persistence of New South Thought," Journal of Southern History 45 (1979): 353-80; Merton L. Dillon, Ulrich Bonnell Phillips: Historian of the Old South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1985) 26-43. The excessive attention given Phillips in recent work, reflected in the above citations, while other key Southern historians like Wertenbaker have received absolutely no attention, both highlights Genovese's influence and provides a sad commentary on American historiography. On the continuity between Bourbons and Progressives in Virginia and the South, see Pulley 17-21, 23, 62-3, 80, 118, 122-5; Tindall, Persistent Tradition 22-3, 54, 61-2; Grantham xvi-xviii, 25-34, 65-74.

71. Wertenbaker, Patrician 57-9, 67-105, 231. Let no one doubt that Wertenbaker, known to his students and peers at Princeton as "the Colonel" because of his refined southern manners, believed himself to be a Southern gentleman. While proud of their Huguenot and German roots, the Wertenbakers exuded as much as the Bruces (if not more so) the spirit of the Old South. See George W. Pierson, "The Shaping of a People: The United States of America," Cultures 3 (1976): 15-6; Murrin 693. See also the thinly disguised fictional account of his "Uncle Phil" and the Wertenbaker family by Wertenbaker's nephew, Charles Wertenbaker, To My Father (New York: Farrar, 1936) 23-6, 30, 32, 54-7, 116-7. On the other hand, although studies of Bruce's extensive papers by Rutman and Simms--and Page's by Holman--note no mention of any influence or correspondence and they never cite each other, Bruce's and Page's narratives shared so much in common that they could easily have been written by the same author. See, in particular, Page, Old South 3-54, 93-139 and Old Dominion. Bruce's brother, William Cabell Bruce, notes the close relations between the Bruce family and Page, who idolized his father-in-law Charles Bruce as the epitome of the Virginia planter. See William Cabell Bruce, Recollections (Baltimore: King, 1936) 27-8. Both Bruce and Wertenbaker took a similarly ambiguous position with respect to slavery, celebrated as the foundation for all that was good in antebellum Southern society but condemned for its long-term detrimental effect. On Bruce, see Rutman, "Bruce" 390; John David Smith, An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865-1918 (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985) 173-7, 269; R. Miller, "Birth" 152. Cf. Page, Old South 10, 25, 33-4, 103-4. Wertenbaker in his first work celebrated the role of slavery in the formation of the eighteenth-century aristocracy and middle class, while in his later work he ranted about how slavery had

killed off his beloved yeomanry, seemingly two sides of the same coin. Cf. Wertenbaker, Patrician 207-15; Planters iii, 38, 137-9, 154-61.

72. Wertenbaker, Patrician 31-2, 36. Wertenbaker in his social categorization seems to follow closely Daniel R. Hundley's 1860 stereotypes of Southern Gentleman, Middle Classes, Southern Yankee, and Southern Yeoman, and Poor White Trash, although Wertenbaker rejected Hundley's historical analysis which emphasized the continuity of Virginia and English social classes. Although there is no evidence that Hundley directly influenced Wertenbaker, perhaps he was indirectly influenced by historians like Phillips, who acknowledges that reading Hundley stimulated his interest in Southern history. See Wendell Holmes Stephenson, The South Lives in History: Southern Historians and Their Legacy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1955) 59. Bruce and Wertenbaker, like Hundley before them, took a similarly ambiguous position on Yankee business values, both condemning yet recognizing their central role in economic development. See Hundley 129-62; R. Miller, "Birth" 154-5. Some historians like Bertram Wyatt-Brown have suggested that Wertenbaker's emphasis on the bourgeois background of the first merchant-planters might imply some scheme to create an alternative Weberian bourgeois myth for the New South. See, e.g., Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "W. J. Cash and Southern Culture," From the Old South to the New: Essays on the Traditional South, eds. Walter J. Fraser, Jr. and Winfred B. Moore, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1981) 203-4. But nothing could be farther from the truth. Wertenbaker, along with Hundley, Bruce, Phillips, and every other turn-of-the-century Southerner would certainly have rejected Max Weber's bourgeois ideal as the model for the New South. For a similar view, see Singal, War Within 22. However, while Wertenbaker steadfastly condemned Yankee traits, he did heartily praise, like Hundley, the Southern Middle Classes who ideally shared the same gentility as the Southern Gentleman along with the bourgeois values of industry and thrift. Furthermore, in emphasizing the dynamic role of the Southern Middle Classes in economic development and stressing the genetic superiority of the English bourgeoisie over a degraded English aristocracy, Wertenbaker does differ from Bruce who emphasized English aristocratic entrepreneurial values. Recently, William Swatos has attempted to incorporate such aristocratic values within a Weberian framework. See William H. Swatos, Jr., Mediating Capitalism and Slavery: A Neo-Weberian Interpretation of Religion and Honor in the Old South (Tampa, FL: Dept. of Religious Studies, U of South Florida, 1987).



73. For a general background, see John Higham, History: Professional Scholarship in America (1965; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1989); Hofstadter, Progressive Historians.

74. Laslett, World 23-54.

75. [Philip Alexander Bruce], "Proclamations of Nathaniel Bacon," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 1 (1893): 55; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Virginia Under the Stuarts 1607-1688, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia (1914; New York: Russell, 1958) iv-vi; Simms 199-203.

76. On Bacon's Rebellion, which Bruce regularly referred to as the "Insurrection of 1676," see Bruce, Institutional History 2: 357, 494; Wertenbaker, Patrician 61-3, 203-4. Cf. Page, Old South 17-9, 158; Page, Old Dominion 136, 145-7; Turner, Frontier 69-70, 247, 250-1, 301-2. A similar division on the rise of American democracy occurs in varying emphases on Thomas Jefferson's patrician or plebeian roots. Whereas Bruce emphasized Jefferson's aristocratic Randolph kin, Progressive historians like Dodd and Turner stressed his frontier yeoman roots. Cf. Dodd, Statesmen 1-23; Turner, Frontier 93-4, 206, 250-1; Philip Alexander Bruce, The Virginia Plutarch, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1929) 195-7. On the long history of the dual image of Jefferson as a synthesis of patrician and plebeian inheritance, see Merrill Peterson, The Jefferson Image in the American Mind (New York: Oxford UP, 1962) 247-50, 491.

77. Novick 92-3; R. Miller, "Birth" 154.

78. Wertenbaker, Patrician 59-64; Dodd, Statesmen 1-23; Wertenbaker, Planters 38-9; Burton J. Hendrick, The Training of an American: The Earlier Life and Letters of Walter H. Page 1855-1913 (Boston: Houghton, 1928) 109-18; Charles Grier Sellers, "Walter Hines Page and the Spirit of the New South," North Carolina Historical Review 29 (1952): 481-99; Stephenson, South Lives 39, 45-6; Lowry Price Ware, "The Academic Career of William E. Dodd," diss., U of South Carolina, 1956; Wish 257; Malcolm C. McMillan, "Jeffersonian Democracy and the Origins of Sectionalism," Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green. eds. Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1965) 98-100; Higham 177; Bruce L. Clayton, "Southern Critics of the New South 1890-1914," diss., Duke U, 1966; Frederick Henry Weaver, "Walter H. Page and the Progressive Mood," diss., Duke U, 1968, 2-3; Robert Dallek, Democrat and Diplomat: The Life of William E. Dodd (New York: Oxford UP, 1968) 39-41, 58-74; Gaston, New South Creed 165-7; Osterweis, Myth 114; Tindall, Persistent Tradition 50-3; John Milton Cooper, Jr., Walter Hines Page: The Southerner as American 1855-1918 (Chapel Hill: U of North

Carolina P, 1977) xx-xxii, 149-50; Grantham 27-33. Moore makes a good case for the Virginia Readjustors of the 1870s and 1880s as forerunners of the Progressives, accepting at face value their self-description as "'liberals' who sought a middle ground between 'radicalism' and 'Bourbonism.'" See Moore, Two Paths 48-53, 84-92. Tindall and Pulley, along with Woodward, tend to see the balance more on the "radical" side. See Tindall 15-6; Pulley 21, 35-43. For an interpretation of Wertenbaker as a Progressive historian, albeit in the context of his Puritan Oligarchy, see Gene Wise, "Implicit Irony in Perry Miller's New England Mind," Journal of the History of Ideas 29 (1968): 579-600. On antebellum roots, see Grigsby 36-45, 168-87; W. Craven, Legend 111, 129; Bernard Mayo, Myths and Men: Patrick Henry, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1959) 49-62; Peterson 166, 229, 239-44, 250-76, 279-80, 343-4. Bishop Meade interestingly suggested that numerous antebellum Virginia families were afraid or ashamed to admit any noble blood in "this republican age." See Meade 1: 189. A more traditional interpretation in line with the Cavalier myth suggests that, by the eve of the Civil War, Southerners, in reaction to abolitionism, had fairly completed the shift from the ideal of Jeffersonian to Calhounian democracy. See, e.g., Dodd, Statesmen; Hubbell, "Cavalier" 25-6; W. G. Bean, "Anti-Jeffersonianism in the Ante-Bellum South," North Carolina Historical Review 12 (1935): 103-24; Peterson 164-89, 472; McMillan 93-5; Dallek 59-61.

79. Page, Old South 5-6; Bruce Institutional History 2: 605-6, 614-6, 633-4; Wertenbaker, Patrician 65-7. Cf. Pierson 15-7. Actually, by the time he wrote The Old Dominion, Page seems to have drunk up the Turnerian spirit, emphasizing far more than Bruce the positive impact of the New World environment in shaping this new man, the Virginian, although Page continued to emphasize a dominant Cavalier ethic. Cf. Page, Old Dominion 140-1. Turner, in reviewing Bruce's Social Life in 1907, actually called for the type of corrective that Wertenbaker provided three years later, with greater attention to the yeomen and emphasis on the transforming nature of New World environment. See Turner, rev. of Social Life, by Philip A. Bruce, 610. However, although he certainly fit squarely within the Turnerian frontier tradition, Wertenbaker so consistently put into practice Turner's "multiple hypothesis" stressing non-environmental factors that subsequent scholars have included him within the Eggleston school. See, e.g., Thomas J. Wertenbaker, "The Molding of the Middle West," American Historical Review 53 (1948): 223-34; Saveth 219-20; Pierson, "Shaping" 13-29. On Wertenbaker as a Turnerian, see Higham 176-7. On Turner's "multiple hypothesis," see Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of Sections in American History (New York: Holt, 1932) 192; R. White, "Turner" 667.

80. The two historians themselves used the terms "inductive" and "deductive" to characterize the other's work. See Wertenbaker, Patrician 220; Bruce, rev. of Planters 552-3. See also Novick 90-2; R. Miller, "Birth" 155. On the other hand, Jon Kukla, Political Institutions xii-xiii, with good cause believes Wertenbaker "carried on into the middle of the twentieth century the romantic notion of history (and of historical research) that gave life to the work of Macaulay (whom Wertenbaker greatly admired), Bancroft, Parkman, Prescott, and Motley."

81. Cf. Wertenbaker, Patrician vii; Bruce, rev. of Planters 552. On Bruce's lack of knowledge of English history, see Rev. of Institutional History, by Philip Alexander Bruce, Nation 91 (1910): 263-4; [Anon.], rev. of Institutional History, by Philip Alexander Bruce, North American Review 192 (1910): 710. On the lack of sufficient evidence to substantiate Wertenbaker's claims, see [William G. Standard], rev. of Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 18 (1910): 339-48; Hughes 231.

82. Bruce, Social Life 255; Institutional History 605-6; Wertenbaker, vi, 33.

83. Besides the later discussion of Bruce and Wertenbaker, see citations to their work in the earlier discussion of traditionalists and modernists, esp. nn. 4, 39, and 40 above.

84. Hofstadter, Progressive Historians xv-xvi.

85. Wendell Holmes Stephenson, Southern History in the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1964) 223; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor vii-viii. That this outcome was not inevitable can be seen in that old Progressive William E. Dodd's 1910 reviews of both Bruce's Institutional History and Wertenbaker's Patrician in which, despite the general positive review of Wertenbaker, Dodd cannot help but praise Bruce as "the foremost authority on Virginia's history" with "a book that surpasses all others that have appeared" since his own Economic History, "without bias of any kind," all the while failing to note any inconsistency between the two books. Cf. William E. Dodd, rev. of Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, American Historical Review 16 (1910): 168-9; William E. Dodd, rev. of The Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, by Philip Alexander Bruce, American Journal of Sociology 16 (1911): 837-8. That Dodd was not always so generous, see William E. Dodd, rev. of The Old Dominion, by Thomas Nelson Page, American Historical Review 14 (1908): 182-3.



86. Rev. of The Planters of Colonial Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, William and Mary Quarterly 2nd ser. 3 (1923): 131-2; Harold Underwood Faulkner, "Colonial History Debunked: It's a Wise Child that Knows its Own Forefathers," Harper's Magazine 152 (1925): 84-5; E. M. Coulter, rev. of The Planters of Colonial Virginia, by Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Georgia Historical Quarterly 11 (1927): 106; Hubbell, "Cavalier" 22-3; Parrington 2: 3-8; Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization (New York: Macmillan, 1930) 1: 127-8; 2: 54; Benjamin B. Kendrick and Alex M. Arnett, The South Looks at its Past (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1935) 13-22; Max Savelle, Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind (New York: Knopf, 1948) 233-7; W. Craven, Legend 129-30; Wertenbaker, Patrician i-ii; Wish 113; W. Taylor, Cavalier 15-6; Bonner, "Plantation" 155; Eaton, Growth 150-1; David M. Potter, "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," The South and the Sectional Conflict, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1968) 72-3; Hofstadter, Progressive Historians 5; Thomas A. Bailey, Probing America's Past: A Critical Examination of Major Myths and Misconceptions, 2 vols. (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1973) 1: 20-1; Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, "Reconstructing British-American Colonial History: An Introduction," Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984) 3; Fischer, Albion's Seed 225n30; Rowland Berthoff, rev. of Albion's Seed, by David Hackett Fischer, Journal of Southern History 57 (1991): 479-81; Fischer, "Albion and the Critics" 286.

87. On challenges to the myth of the antebellum Southern planter, see Thomas P. Govan, "Was the Old South Different?," Journal of Southern History 21 (1955): 447-55; Grady McWhiney, Southerners and Other Americans (New York: Basic, 1973) 3-25; Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, 1974) 1: 70-3, 129, 200, 232; Edward Pessen, "How Different from Each Other Were the Antebellum North and South?," American Historical Review 85 (1980): 1119-49; James Oakes, The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders (New York: Vintage, 1983).

88. See n. 38 above.

89. For a similar dominance of the Progressive school in antebellum Southern historiography, see Bruce C. Baird, "The Party-in-the-Electorate in the Jacksonian South: An Historiographical Review," History Graduate Research Conference, U of Florida, Gainesville, 13 Oct. 1990.

90. Warren M. Billings, "Towards the Rewriting of Seventeenth-Century Virginia History: A Review Article," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (1975): 184. See also Wesley Frank Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1949) 427; Rutman, "Bruce" 402-3; Simms 204; Thad W. Tate, "The Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake and Its Modern Historians," The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 6-13; Allan Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture?," Journal of Southern History 45 (1979): 514; Kukla, Political Institutions xii-xiii.

91. However, Wertenbaker's more traditional "democratic myth" of Bacon's Rebellion did not fare as well. See Stephenson, Southern History 223; W. Craven, Legend 71; Wish 239-40; Bailey, Probing America's Past 21-2; Kukla, Political Institutions xv. The rejection of these democratic myths of seventeenth-century Virginia, most recently exemplified in the resistance to Stephen Saunders Webb's 1676, reflects the continued failure of seventeenth-century Virginia to fit the Judeo-Christian mold which left the field ripe for Hobbesians as well as traditionalists. See Stephen Saunders Webb, 1676: The End of American Independence (New York: Knopf, 1984).

92. John Maynard Keynes, The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money (1936; New York: Harcourt, 1964) 383.

93. Billings, "Towards the Rewriting" 184.



## CHAPTER 2 CHREMATISTICS, COMPETENCY, AND THE COMMONWEAL

At the same time that historians of colonial Virginia like Bruce and Wertenbaker were searching for the origins of the Southern gentleman, European scholars following in the footsteps of Karl Marx were searching for the origins of the modern capitalist. If the Bruce-Wertenbaker framework would come to dominate Virginia historiography, the "transition to capitalism" framework of Marx, Werner Sombart, and Max Weber would come to dominate the twentieth-century social sciences in general.

The two searches parallel each other in several ways. Both share a nexus in developments in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Both pose the central question of the relative importance of culture versus environment in societal evolution. More importantly, both frame the analysis in terms of similar dichotomous ideal types: Yankee versus Cavalier, precapitalist versus capitalist, traditional versus modern. This antithetical framework, the direct descendant of Aristotelian economic ethics, has long shaped and continues to shape Western thinking. Yet the two literatures--that in the Chesapeake and that in Western social evolution--have rarely cross paths.

Despite the consensus among historians about the dominance of modern economic behavior in seventeenth-century Virginia, few have looked seriously at Virginia for insights into the transition to capitalism. In part this lack of attention reflects the difficulty of fitting Virginia into any of the traditional frameworks developed for contemporaneous England or New England. The dubious religiosity of early Virginia, the forced-labor plantation system, the lack of towns and manufactures, and the rise of gentility as the dominant ethic in the eighteenth century all give Virginia a problematic location in any "transition-to-capitalism" narrative. For their part, the historians of Virginia have failed to address adequately the issues of central concern in the transition to capitalism debate: the relationship between economic ideals and behavior. Social historians, focusing solely on revealed behavior, have for the most part ignored expressed ideals. Cultural and intellectual historians have noted a discrepancy between expressed ideals and revealed behavior but have summarily dismissed the divergence as a function of short-term environmental constraints.

Any attempt to bridge the gap between the particular historical and the general social science literatures reveals inherent problems which rest fundamentally on the dichotomous thinking central to both. By avoiding dichotomies and coming to grips with the actual economic ethics of

seventeenth-century Virginia, we can begin to move beyond the limitations of both debates.

### Transition to Capitalism

Scholars have identified a major shift in Western attitudes toward the pursuit of wealth at some point between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, a shift at the heart of "the transition to capitalism." Whether Marx's transition from "use values" inherently limited by needs to infinitely expansive "exchange values," or Sombart's and Weber's shift from Bedarfsdeckungsprinzip ("the principle of satisfaction of relatively fixed needs") to Erwerbsprinzip ("the principle of unlimited acquisition"), this shift rests ultimately on Aristotle's contrast between two economic ethics: oikonomikē ("the art of household management," or domestic economy) and chrematistikē ("the art of wealth-getting," or chrematistics).<sup>1</sup> In what Karl Polanyi labelled "probably the most prophetic pointer ever made in the realm of social science," Aristotle contrasted the two as radically different approaches to acquisition. Whereas domestic economy limits acquisition to "the amount of property which is needed for a good life" and "the satisfaction of men's natural wants"--"the elements of true riches"--under chrematistics "riches and property have no limit." Domestic economy seeks to maximize leisure within the context of a good life, while chrematistics seeks to maximize wealth

without limit. Aristotle, like his contemporaries and many later writers influenced directly or indirectly by classical thought, condemned chrematistics as unnatural and illegitimate.<sup>2</sup>

Marx, Sombart, and Weber simply historicized this dichotomy, showing when and how Aristotelian aversion to chrematistics was transformed into the capitalistic championing of profit maximization. Thus, in the transition to capitalism framework, domestic economy and chrematistics represent the dominant ethic and behavior of the pre-capitalist and capitalist eras respectively.<sup>3</sup> Weber and Sombart differed from Marx in stressing the dominance of ideological over material forces in this transition, but they and their followers eschewed any ideological determinism.<sup>4</sup>

Although endless numbers of critics and supporters of Marx, Weber, and Sombart followed with their own particular combinations of ideological, institutional, and material forces in their solutions to the transition question, a broad region of unchallenged consensus gradually arose to dominate twentieth-century social science.<sup>5</sup> Despite different emphases, present-day scholars agree on certain key points: the present dominance of a modern "spirit" of capitalism, the antithesis of the traditional "spirit" which ruled in the Middle Ages; the chrematistic ethic at the heart of this modern spirit; that regardless of the role of religion in the origins of capitalist spirit, secularization

played an even greater role in removing traditional constraints on the full exercise of the ethic; and, finally, that regardless of the origins of this ethic, once adopted the ethic took on a life of its own, forcing others to conform or perish in Darwinian fashion.<sup>6</sup>

Most of the traditional explanations of the timing of the transition to capitalism have focused directly on England as the first major industrial power. The three dominant interpretations stress alternately: a sixteenth-century commercial agrarian revolution coming with the Age of Discovery, a shift of the commercial center of Europe from the Mediterranean to Northwest Europe, and the enclosure movement in England; a seventeenth-century intellectual revolution, usually linked to Puritanism, secularization, and the rise of economic and political liberalism; an eighteenth-century Industrial Revolution.<sup>7</sup> Although followers of Marx have traditionally stressed the sixteenth- and eighteenth-century revolutions, much of the modern debate on the ethical aspects of capitalism naturally highlights--as a consequence of Weber's work and the debate over his Protestant ethic thesis--the seventeenth-century intellectual revolution.<sup>8</sup>

The Weberian debate has necessarily involved students of both colonial America and England, since Puritanism strongly shaped both intellectual environments and Weber's case rested equally on evidence from both sides of the



Atlantic. While Weber emphasized the direct impact of Puritanism, his followers and critics alike have tended to emphasize even more the role of secularization, the evidence of the spirit of capitalism before Puritanism, and the differences between early and late Puritanism. Supporters equate the spirit with a secularized Puritanism and critics emphasize the triumph of a secular spirit with the demise of Puritanism. Weber's critics also find the religious and capitalist spirits adamantly opposed and Puritans practically indistinguishable from Anglicans and Catholics on economic ethics. Both sides of this debate agree that regardless of the factors involved, the spirit of capitalism dominated England by the late seventeenth century, coming directly upon the demise of institutional Puritanism at the Restoration.<sup>9</sup> In New England, historians have variously dated the "declension" from Puritan to Yankee at any time from 1630 when John Winthrop stepped off the Arbella to the American Revolution and beyond.<sup>10</sup>

With the current emphasis on secularization, the search for evidence of the spirit of capitalism has naturally turned to the non-religious literature, particularly political and economic tracts. Just as Weber and Sombart earlier highlighted Benjamin Franklin as the ideal Yankee capitalist, C. B. Macpherson has set the later agenda with his analysis of seventeenth-century writers like Hobbes, Harrington, and Locke for the origins of a dominant "possessive

individualism" (Macpherson's modern equivalent of chrematistics).<sup>11</sup> Following Macpherson, other historians of political economy have addressed the writings of various seventeenth-century political economists and eighteenth-century writers like Bernard Mandeville, David Hume, James Steuart, and Adam Smith for incipient positive statements of modern capitalism.<sup>12</sup>

However, despite the overwhelming acceptance of the dominance of the spirit of capitalism in late seventeenth-century England, the research in the secular literature has proved conclusively that whatever the ambiguities and paradoxes in individual tracts or authors, chrematistics never achieved a positive normative status in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England or America.<sup>13</sup> Even Joyce Appleby, who supports Macpherson's interpretation of seventeenth-century English society, acknowledges that his possessive individualism was "strangely neglected, perhaps even suppressed" in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England.<sup>14</sup> The early English thinkers actually rejected any such ethic, arguing simply for the removal of some particular constraints on the pursuit of wealth well in line with a traditional English defense of liberties and always for the benefit of the common good, hardly a reversal of the Aristotelian aversion to chrematistics.

### Economic versus Political Liberalism

If a modern consensus stresses the dominance of the capitalist spirit in early modern England and America, while neither religious nor secular literature reveals any unequivocal statement of ethical support, what are we to make of the entire transition to capitalism debate? Basically, the debate exists because the two sides are arguing at cross purposes. Followers of Weber and Macpherson look backward from the present for incipient statements of a presumed modern ethic while their critics, more concerned with finding alternatives to the modern ethic, find much more discontinuity with the present.

Much of the problem arises from the confusion engendered by equating the triumph of the chrematistic ethic with the rise of economic and political liberalism, with their common locus in the English revolution of the seventeenth century and the writings of Hobbes and Locke. If research has sufficiently undermined the case for chrematistics, the case is by no means clear for liberalism. Although scholars differ widely on the exact timing, almost all accept that modern liberalism came to dominate the West by the nineteenth century and some have made a good case for its dominance in England by the late seventeenth century.

Almost all students of early modern Europe accept the dominance before the mid-seventeenth century of the traditional idea of a "common good" which framed all the statutes

and acts of the realm and to which all individual or particular goods and liberties were subservient--"a good proper to, and attainable only by, the community, yet individually shared by its members," thus "at once communal and individual."<sup>15</sup> Individual good was an essential element of the common good but, however defined, the common good clearly represented much more than any function of individual goods, including such concepts as justice and liberty.<sup>16</sup>

The relationship between liberty and the common good was similarly ambiguous. By the Middle Ages, the concept of liberty combined two elements: one evolved from the Roman libertas, essentially a "negative" image of liberty as "freedom against" or the opposite of slavery and captivity; and a "positive" image of liberty as "freedom to" or territorial immunity and political participation.<sup>17</sup> In the pre-Hobbesian, pre-Lockean era both positive and negative liberty constituted essential elements of the common good. Consistent with the common good, all citizens shared equally in positive liberty. But the common good demanded strict limits on negative liberty, if for no other reason than the paradoxical but universal belief that sacrifice of one's liberty was essential to preserve one's liberty.<sup>18</sup>

In this context, chrematistics was proscribed in ancient times and the Middle Ages, and even into the modern era, as "the lowest sort of avarice," one of the seven deadly sins.<sup>19</sup> The degree of proper constraint was deter-



mined by laws consistent with the common good, with too much or too little constraint clearly contrary to the common good. Although the thirteenth-century English jurist Henry de Bracton noted that in Roman law, to which all medieval jurists likened English law, libertas was defined as "the natural power of every man to do what he pleases, unless forbidden by law or force," clearly by the early modern (if not the earlier) period this only applied to "good" laws, "just" force, and all within the context of the common good.<sup>20</sup>

In making a case for an intellectual revolution, historians of political thought have depicted this traditional world view as coming to an end in the English Civil War, a war that shattered the entire concept of "community" upon which the common good rested and gave rise to modern liberalism. Following the work of Hobbes and Locke, the idea of the common good was challenged by two distinct sets of ideas--political liberalism and economic liberalism--which we may define thusly:

(1) Political liberalism: The Hobbesian triumph of the utilitarian concept of "interest" and the disappearance of both positive and negative liberty, with the common good replaced by the concept of the "public interest," ultimately equal to no more than the sum of private interests, and with the community reduced to a bourgeois "community of inter-

ests" that had no greater function than to protect those private interests;<sup>21</sup>

(2) Economic liberalism: The Lockean triumph of negative liberty, beginning with claims for natural rights superseding the common good, concluding with the disappearance of ideas of positive liberty and the common good, and constraints on one's liberty reduced to the avoidance of that which would impinge on others' liberty.<sup>22</sup>

Economic liberalism and chrematistics share much the same foundation and thus their critiques parallel each other, which means that the triumph of either chrematistics or economic liberalism can be similarly dismissed for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England.<sup>23</sup> If Appleby finds possessive individualism "strangely neglected, perhaps even suppressed," she says the same for economic liberalism.<sup>24</sup> The case for the rise of political liberalism, however, has a much more solid foundation and requires a full explication in order to understand the complexities of the prevailing political beliefs in England over the course of the first century of Virginia's settlement--beliefs against which we might measure divergence in Virginia thought.

Liberty and the Common Good in Traditional Thought<sup>25</sup>

Anyone who has examined closely the political language that Englishmen employed during the centuries preceding the English Civil War would acknowledge the fairly unanimous consensus proclaiming the common good as the cornerstone of all policy and action--what Clive Holmes calls the "the commonwealth ideology" which through constant employment "filtered down to become part of a general stock of ideas widely dispersed through [sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English] society."<sup>26</sup> The exact English terminology used varied among a host of interchangeable terms like "common-weal", "commonwealth," or "public weal."<sup>27</sup> The idea and language reflected influences from both Roman and medieval law as well as the medieval rejuvenation of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, St. Augustine, and other classical and patristic thinkers.<sup>28</sup>

What anyone meant by the common good was less clear, however, apart from the universal opinion that particular interests were subordinated to it. General statements neglected to define "who" was included in the common and "what" was good--let alone "why."<sup>29</sup> More specific, if equally ambiguous, definitions historically included doing the will of God, being virtuous, following the Aristotelian mean, and applying justice.<sup>30</sup>

Yet the ambiguity did not make the ideal any less real to Englishmen. To supplement such words they drew on numer-

ous real-life analogies to capture the essence of the commonweal: the family, the biological organism, the human body, and societies of social insects such as ants and bees.<sup>31</sup> The most prominent historical analogy was the classical model of Sparta--of all the Hellenic communities the closest in giving absolute primacy to the common good.<sup>32</sup>

In essence, the individual, community, and state were united in an organic harmony "in which there was only one relationship: that of all to all, and of everything to one divine truth."<sup>33</sup> In this moral community, particular rights and interests were clearly subordinate to the common good, yet there was no confrontation between the good of the individual and the good of the whole, since individual good derived from and depended on the common good.<sup>34</sup>

The ideal of a single good applicable to the entire community was subject, of course, to ethical challenges and Englishmen had a realistic awareness of the inherent tensions between the individual and the community. However, as is so often the case, such challenges and tensions led not to the abandonment of the ideal, but to its more forceful articulation. Contests for power were dismissed as mere temporary imbalances in the body politic. Thus, in mid-seventeenth-century England, few dissenters were willing to separate from the church and abandon "the idea of one indivisible truth and religious community" and Parliamentarians in open rebellion claimed to be defending the Crown.<sup>35</sup>



Englishmen, at least as far back in myth as the reign of the "liberty-loving" Goths and the pre-Norman Anglo-Saxons, also cherished their "liberties."<sup>36</sup> But, whether under the code of honor or the code of law, regardless of how defined, how safeguarded, and how fiercely defended, wherever the community or state was concerned, liberties fundamentally and always served the common good and not vice versa.<sup>37</sup> English mercantilists up to and including Adam Smith accepted as the general guiding principle that the state should not interfere with individual or household liberties--except where interference would best serve the common good.<sup>38</sup> Even Sir Edward Coke, the great champion of the common law and defender of English liberties, stressed that "the common law will rather suffer a private injury than a public inconvenience."<sup>39</sup> Thus, contrary to theories propounded by Roscoe Pound and others, there is little evidence for the rise of economic liberalism and "ultra-individualism" in seventeenth- or eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>40</sup>

### Necessity and Competency

If the commonweal was inconsistent with the unconstrained pursuit of individual interests, the state was concerned with the well-being of its citizens, in particular providing a safety net for preservation in times of "necessity" or "poverty"--in the sense of the Latin term necessi-

tas.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, many of the harshest criticisms of avarice--reflected most strongly in the condemnation of enclosures--highlighted impoverishment as the key detrimental effect of avarice on the commonweal.<sup>42</sup> This concern reflected a Judeo-Christian/classical consensus combining both the Christian duty of charity and natural law that justified private property based on the proviso that all things existed in common in times of necessity and all men had the right to a livelihood and self-preservation.<sup>43</sup>

Indeed, so important was the preservation of the individual that although normally the state demanded that individuals comply with the law as the definitive statement of the common good, in case of necessity the state allowed the individual to cast the law aside. Rooted firmly in the natural law tradition, this idea was well captured by the classical axiom of private law: "Necessitas non habet legem" or "Necessity knows no law."<sup>44</sup> Numerous observers, from Sir Thomas More in the early sixteenth century to John Cook and Thomas Hobbes in the mid-seventeenth century, drawing on classical and scriptural precedents, held up this maxim to defend the right of poor men to steal food when needed to preserve themselves and their families.<sup>45</sup> Religious writers like Hugh Latimer and William Perkins extended the idea to their understanding of the calling, following the apostolic injunction against changing one's calling or practicing two trades except for "the common good" or out of "private

necessity."<sup>46</sup> More generally, scholars and statesmen alike had long recognized that works of necessity absolved individuals from religious and civic duties such as attending court or church.<sup>47</sup>

Although natural law rhetoric might imply that by necessity Western thinkers meant absolute poverty verging on starvation, in actual usage the normative idea of necessity was extended to all levels of society, not just the poorest. Neither classical nor patristic--let alone later--writers ever envisioned an egalitarian society where necessities were defined in the same terms for every individual. If society was a harmonious organism, it was also a hierarchical organism, well captured by the analogies of the "the body politic" and the divinely-ordained Great Chain of Being.<sup>48</sup> Thus, what might represent a conveniency or even a luxury for a member of the working classes could be a necessity for a member of the elite. Some medieval writers even recognized that some luxuries became necessities over time.<sup>49</sup>

This relativistic understanding of necessity had solid roots in classical and patristic thought, but it took on a greater sociological precision in medieval times as canonists and theologians attempted to define superfluities as that level of property which an individual would be forced to give up in time of necessity, without depriving anyone of their own necessities.<sup>50</sup> In Thomas Aquinas's most influen-

tial argument, he stressed the bare minimum that had to be done as a matter of precept (while to do more was always a meritorious act of charity) and the duty to give up superfluities only in time of "extreme necessity," that is, "when a man lacked even the bare essentials necessary to sustain life"; in such a time even a man without superfluities was "bound to give up the comforts and amenities proper to his station in life (which were not technically 'superfluities') to save another from actual starvation."<sup>51</sup>

By the seventeenth century, attempts to define necessities and superfluities had not progressed much beyond Aquinas. John Cook in 1648 could speak of "a light necessity, a great necessity, and an extreame necessity" and how

the rich mans superfluities gave place to anothers convenience, his conveniences to another mans necessities, his Necessities to another mans extremities, one mans less Extremities to his Neighbours greater Extremities, and to Mekanically poore must releace Mendicant poore, rather then they should perish.<sup>52</sup>

In the second half of the seventeenth century, religious leaders like Richard Cumberland and Richard Baxter believed that "each man had a right to those things which he needed to use in order to live," which Baxter interpreted to include conveniencies:

For natural individuation maketh it necessary that every man have his own food, and his own clothing, at least for the time; and, therefore, it is usually needful to the good of the whole and the parts that each one have also their provisional proprieties; and the difference of men in wit and folly, industry and sloth, virtue and vice, good or ill deserts, will also



cause a difference of propriety and rights, though these may be in part subjected to the common good.<sup>53</sup>

If in the medieval and early modern era, the general consensus meant nothing more than that a man with superfluities should give alms and a man lacking necessities should receive alms, there was obviously much room for negotiation. The boundaries between superfluity and conveniency, and coveniency and necessity, both of which depended heavily on one's station, remained inherently ambiguous.<sup>54</sup>

The boundaries were even more complicated by the tendency to speak of anyone as "poor" who lacked a "competency," by which was meant the sum of necessities plus conveniencies required to allow one to live up to his station, or the income, wealth, or property necessary to produce such necessities and conveniences.<sup>55</sup> The idea of a competency, as reflected in writings from Aquinas to Baxter, far transcended the charity issue. For this was an era, as J.G.A. Pocock notes, when "'property'--that which you owned--and 'propriety'--that which pertained or was proper to a person or situation--were interchangeable terms."<sup>56</sup> Although no one ever suggested that anyone simply lacking a competency deserved alms, yet in many ways ensuring a competency for citizens proved as central a goal in any definition of the common good as ensuring necessities. The importance of competency rested on many of the same natural laws and political reasons as necessity, but combined further a strong classical tradition of positive liberty that empha-

sized the possession of a competency as essential to providing sufficient independence and leisure to participate in community affairs and undertake community responsibilities.<sup>57</sup>

At the heart of the conception of the individual and common good of every seventeenth-century Englishman, whether at home or abroad, peasant or lord, rested the notion of the right of each household to a competency. However, as with necessity, one should not presume that for these Englishmen competency implied a fixed level of wealth for every individual.<sup>58</sup> Firstly, inherent in the concept were differences according to station which changed over time, space, life-cycle, and individual circumstances.<sup>59</sup> Secondly, to whatever degree the Schoolmen earlier specified a "static" hierarchical image of society, by the sixteenth century a definite "progressive" notion of competency had arisen.<sup>60</sup> Individuals and households should not remain satisfied with a minimum level of well-being but should aspire to take advantage of opportunities for greater wealth and consumption within the traditional economic framework. Indeed, satisfaction was condemned as indolence.<sup>61</sup> These beliefs reflected the early modern fear of idleness, a labor theory of wealth centered on the guarantee of the freedom of the fruits of one's labor, and the idea that wealth acquired by greater industry not only was acceptable but should be positively encouraged. But this "progressive competency"

evolved out of the tradition of Aristotelian domestic economy and remained estranged from chrematistics.<sup>62</sup>

Drawing upon private law tradition, classical political theory, and Roman public law, medieval legists and canonists employed the strong link between necessity and the common good to develop the early modern theory of public law and the state, a development continued by later natural law theorists like Grotius, Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Pufendorf. If the individual had a right to survive and defend himself against aggressors, then so too did the state as a key component of the common good. Indeed, while seventeenth-century Englishmen recognized that private necessity was a matter of justice and charity, their concern with the concept reflected perhaps an even greater fear of the mob driven by poverty into rebellion.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, the maxim that "Necessity knows no law" was extended to give the government "a certain prerogative that made it superior, in an emergency or necessity, to the private law and private rights."<sup>64</sup> Machiavelli differed from others only in considering the state as in a permanent state of necessity that justified any action taken by it as the price to be paid to preserve the republic.<sup>65</sup>

#### The Case for Political Liberalism

That parliamentary debates in early seventeenth-century England drew explicitly on medieval ideas of public neces-

sity and the common good reflects their continuing relevance in the years before the Civil War.<sup>66</sup> Yet traditional ideas like common good, necessity, and competency proved very flexible in practice, and in the seventeenth century the traditional antithesis between private interest and the common good began to weaken as the Crown and Parliament promoted two starkly different images of the common good: the Stuarts' claim of Crown prerogative and necessity of state to justify extraordinary taxation to preserve national power; and Parliament's condemnation of Crown abuse of private rights, drawing on the ancient maxim, "salus populi suprema lex esto."<sup>67</sup>

The battle between these views echoed numerous similar battles in the Middle Ages over perpetua necessitas, all reflecting the historical tendency of the state to reduce "reason of state" to a mere instrument of statecraft as it moved in the Machiavellian direction of claiming a permanent necessity to justify all acts of state, most particularly the shift from extraordinary to permanent annual taxation.<sup>68</sup> Thomas More in his Utopia elaborated numerous creative types of abuse of the idea of public necessity, including carrying on "a make-believe war."<sup>69</sup> During the turbulent years of the mid-seventeenth-century, a plethora of similar complaints were well captured in Milton's lines in Paradise Lost: "So spake the fiend, and with necessity,/ The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds." And they



were captured again in Oliver Cromwell's speech to Parliament in 1654: "Necessity hath no law. Feigned necessities, imaginary necessities, are the greatest cozenage men can put upon the Providence of God, and make pretences to break known rules by."<sup>70</sup>

At the heart of the case for political liberalism lies the argument that cynicism over the divergence between rhetoric and reality during the Civil War years and a search for pragmatic solutions paved the way for the increasing acceptance of "interest" as an ineradicable part of politics.<sup>71</sup> Whereas in traditional political rhetoric, interests had always been associated with the "particular" and "individual" which were condemned as contrary to the common good, increasingly in the seventeenth-century the idea of interest was accepted into normative discourse. Under the influence of continental ideas captured by the French proverb "interest will not lie," the new public notion of interest evolved rapidly from a political guide for princes and statesmen into a rule applicable to all human affairs.<sup>72</sup>

Francisco Suarez, writing for a continental audience rife with religious and political divisions, had laid out in 1613 the idea that the common good could be conceived in two different ways: "the generall state of the commonwealth, and benefit of the community" and the "common good which results from every man's good." During the English Civil War, when similar religious and political divisions broke out across

England, several Parliamentarians (some drawing explicitly on Suarez) began focusing on the popular approach to the common good to justify their actions. Hobbes pushed the same logic to promote the absolutist cause, but many of his followers, like Harrington and Locke, used the same logic to support anti-absolutism.<sup>73</sup> At certain points when polemics got especially hot, such as the years 1647-9 and 1659-60, discussion of the commonweal gave way to acceptance of a "union of interests."<sup>74</sup>

The term "public interest" began appearing more and more frequently in the years during and after the Civil War. This new term obviously drew on the heritage of the commonwealth ideology but challenged traditional notions of the common good as an entity in any way independent of the individual good.<sup>75</sup> Such an individualist understanding of public interest proved quite successful in challenging competing definitions of the common good in terms of national power and state necessity.<sup>76</sup>

There are, however, many problems with the case for political liberalism in late seventeenth- or eighteenth-century England.<sup>77</sup> Regardless of the influence of Hobbes and Locke on modern thought, one should not hold up their views as typical of their times or overexaggerate their impact on seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English (let alone Virginian) thought.<sup>78</sup> Scholars well acknowledge that the older language of goods continued to appear ubiquitously,

indeed in the work of Hobbes and Locke themselves, alongside the newer language of interests. When merchants, entrepreneurs, and liberal political economists continued to couch schemes solely in terms of the public good and to condemn opposing interests as either "morally harmful" or "their persons degraded" and thus not subject to equal consideration in public good, they perpetuated the traditional rhetoric. So did lawyers and Members of Parliament of all persuasions when they quoted Coke on the dictum that no man should be a judge in his own "case" or "cause."<sup>79</sup> Excusing such persistence as mere "lip service to the older ethic"--required because any political argument tainted with selfish intention became quickly discredited--hardly bespeaks evidence of a normative transformation.<sup>80</sup>

Although advocates of transformation stress the inherent ambiguity in claims of the common good, claims of public interest were equally vague.<sup>81</sup> One cannot presume that, since the public interest is based on more concrete individual interests, the public interest would be more concrete than the common good; the idea of a public interest hardly shows how individual interests are to be reconciled, let alone maximized. Few could consistently accept contemporaneous proposals that any action undertaken in the public interest should not harm any private interests and indeed should advance them all, or that all policy decisions should

be put to a plebiscite, or even that interests be somehow simply aggregated.<sup>82</sup>

One can also argue that, regardless of any shift in language, the basic understanding of the common good did not change drastically across the seventeenth century. On no issue did there arise a pluralist acceptance of the legitimacy of competing visions of the public interest. Furthermore, on some elements of the common good all Englishmen could agree.<sup>83</sup> If Machiavelli could deny any independent importance to justice, no English speaker would deny justice as a good truly common to all citizens.<sup>84</sup> Similarly, Englishmen only considered legitimate those private interests that contributed to the peace and order of the kingdom, which, for many on both sides of debates, meant that only those landowners with a stake in the country should participate in determining the public interest, implicitly equating the public interest with the preservation of property.<sup>85</sup> Certainly the public interest shared with the common good a concern for the welfare of the members of the community.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, J. A. W. Gunn, one of the major proponents of the transformation hypothesis, acknowledges that the differences between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century arguments were strictly a matter of the emphasis placed on particular elements of the common good, driven more by political "circumstances" than theory.<sup>87</sup> Perhaps, then, rather than a transformation, one might suggest that all of the evidence

taken together simply suggests that changes in political ideology in seventeenth-century England reflected merely another stage in the evolution of a centuries-old debate about the complex balance between individual good, liberty, necessity, and the common good.<sup>88</sup>

### Notes

1. While chrematistics retains its original Aristotelian sense in English and German translation, modern scholars have alternatively employed terms like "leisure ethic" or "wealth ethic" when discussing concepts akin to Aristotelian domestic economy.

2. Aristotle, Politics, trans. Benjamin Jowett (New York: Modern Library, 1943) 66-70; Albert Augustus Trever, A History of Greek Economic Thought (1916; Philadelphia: Porcupine, 1978) 85-8, 105-7; Lewis H. Haney, History of Economic Thought, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1936) 63-5; M. Beer, Early British Economics from the XIIIth to the Middle of the XVIIIth Century (London: Allen, 1938) 130; Karl Polanyi, The Great Transformation (New York: Rinehart, 1944) 53-4; Louis Schneider, The Freudian Psychology and Veblen's Social Theory (Morningside Heights, NY: King's Crown, 1948) 186; Walter A. Weisskopf, The Psychology of Economics (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1955) 12-5; Herbert Lüthy, "Once Again: Calvinism and Capitalism," The Protestant Ethic and Modernization, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt (New York: Basic, 1968) 105; Odd Langholm, Wealth and Money in the Aristotelian Tradition: A Study in Scholastic Economic Sources (Bergen: Universitetsforlaget, 1983) 46-55; Thomas O. Nitsch, "Further Reflections on Human-nature Assumptions in Economics--Part I: The 'Men' of Aristotle, Adam Smith et al. Revisited," International Journal of Social Economics 17 (1990): 4-5; David Parker and Richard Stead, Profit and Enterprise: The Political Economy of Profit (New York: Harvester, 1991) 20-1; Paul A. Rahe, Republic Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1992) 88-104.

3. On Marx, see Karl Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1977) 247-69, esp. 247-8, 253n, 267; Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., "Marx on Aristotle: Freedom, Money, and Politics," Review of Metaphysics 34 (1980): 351-67; J.G.A. Pocock, "Cambridge Para-



digms and Scotch Philosophers: A Study of the Relations between the Civic Humanist and the Civil Jurisprudential Interpretation of Eighteenth-Century Social Thought," Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment, eds. Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) 237; Charles Perrings, "The Natural Economy Revisited," Economic Development and Cultural Change 33 (1985): 829-31; George E. McCarthy, Marx and the Ancients: Classical Ethics, Social Justice, and Nineteenth-Century Political Economy (Savage, MD: Rowman, 1990) 58-9, 303-4n2; William James Booth, "The New Household Economy," American Political Science Review 85 (1991): 59-75; William James Booth, "Households, Markets, and Firms," Marx and Aristotle: Nineteenth-century German Social Theory and Classical Antiquity, ed. George E. McCarthy (Savage, MD: Rowman, 1992) 243-4, 249. For reverse analysis of Aristotle in Marxian terms, see Scott Meikle, "Aristotle and the Political Economy of the Polis," Journal of Hellenic Studies 99 (1979): 57-73; S. Todd Lowry, The Archaeology of Economic Ideas: The Classic Greek Tradition (Durham: Duke UP, 1987) 224-5, 319n39. Cf. Lindley M. Keaby, "Translator's Preface," The Economic Foundations of Society, by Achille Loria (London: Sonnenschein, 1910) ix. On Sombart and Weber, see Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner's, 1958) 53, 58-9, 64-5, 195n12; Talcott Parsons, The Early Essays, ed. Charles Camic (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991) 3-37; H. M. Robertson, Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and his School (New York: Kelley, 1959) 35-6; F. X. Sutton, "The Social and Economic Philosophy of Werner Sombart: The Sociology of Capitalism," An Introduction to the History of Sociology, ed. Harry Elmer Barnes (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1948) 322-3, 327; John W. Baldwin, "The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 49 (1959): 5-6; Lüthy 105; Gianfranco Poggi, Calvinism and the Capitalist Spirit: Max Weber's Protestant Ethic (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1983) 19-21; M. M. Goldsmith, Private Vices, Public Benefits: Bernard Mandeville's Social and Political Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) 124-8. On the slow but eventual triumph of the Marxian concept of "capitalism," see Werner Sombart, "Capitalism," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman, 15 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1930) 3: 195; Ephraim Fischhoff, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: The History of a Controversy," Social Research 11 (1944): 61; Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 5 vols. (New York: Viking, 1946-59) 3: 345. Louis Schneider believes that Thorstein Veblen's work marks the final stage in the Aristotle-Marx-Weber historicization

of the triumph of chrematistics over domestic economy. See Schneider, Freudian Psychology 186-8.

4. Weber, Protestant Ethic 55-6; Robertson xii; Parsons, Early Essays 3-37; M. M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (1939; Chicago: U Chicago P, 1965) 513; Fischhoff 57-61, 66-8; H. R. Trevor-Roper, "Religion, the Reformation, and Social Change," Historical Studies (Irish Conference of Historians) 4 (1963): 20. Fischhoff believes Weber and Sombart were part of the movement among late nineteenth-century German scholars to synthesize Marx and the German historical school of political economy centered on the concept of "the spirit of capitalism". See Fischhoff 57-62, 66-7.

5. This consensus will here be labelled the transition to capitalism thesis but goes by various other names such as modernization and the rise of liberalism. On liberalism, see below. On modernization, see Chapter 8.

6. On the modern spirit of capitalism, see R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1926) 35-6, 286; Parsons, Early Essays 9-10, 23-4; Adriano Tilgher, Work: What It Has Meant to Men Through the Ages, trans. Dorothy Canfield Fisher (1930; New York: Arno, 1977) 58-69; Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans. Olive Wyon, 2 vols. (1931; New York: Macmillan, 1949) 2: 641-50; Robertson xi; Baldwin 5-6; Lowry 230-2; Rahe 75-8, 98-101. On the role of secularization, see below. On Darwinian interpretations, see Chapter 8.

7. For a general overview of these three interpretations, see Sutton 316-31.

8. Marx termed the period between the sixteenth and the late eighteenth century the period of "primitive accumulation", not yet a fully capitalist mode of production but certainly populated by a plethora of capitalists driven by exchange rather than use values. Tawney emphasized both the sixteenth-century agrarian and the seventeenth-century intellectual revolutions. See Tawney, Religion 11-2, 55-6, 66-79, 85, 179-80, 198-9.

9. On Weber, see Weber, Protestant Ethic 55-6, 62-3. For supporters of Weber, see Troeltsch 2: 642-6; Tawney, Religion; Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1935) 1-4, 121-200, 268; Fischhoff 55n9; S. N. Eisenstadt, "The Protestant Ethic Thesis in an Analytical and Comparative Framework," The Protestant Ethic and Modernization, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt (New York: Basic, 1968) 3-8. For critics, see Robertson,

Aspects; E. A. J. Johnson, American Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century (London: King, 1932) 92; Amintore Fanfani, Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism (1935; New York: Arno, 1972); Knappen 401-23, 513-4; Dorfman 1: 13; Winthrop S. Hudson, "Puritanism and the Spirit of Capitalism," Church History 18 (1949): 3-17; Wallace Notestein, The English People on the Eve of Colonization 1603-1630 (New York: Harper, 1954) 166-7; Winthrop S. Hudson, "The Weber Thesis Reexamined," Church History 30 (1961): 91-4, 98; Charles H. George and Katherine George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation 1570-1640 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1961) 117-73; Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action: A Critique of Max Weber, trans. E. Geoffrey French (New York: Harper, 1961); A. G. Dickens, The English Reformation (New York: Schocken, 1964) 317; Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1965) 300-16; Timothy Hall Breen, "The Non-Existent Controversy: Puritan and Anglican Attitudes on Work and Wealth, 1600-1640," Church History 35 (1966): 273-87; Leo F. Solt, "Puritanism, Capitalism, Democracy, and the New Science" American Historical Review 73 (1967): 20-8; Lüthy 87-108; Laura Stevenson O'Connell, "Anti-Entrepreneurial Attitudes in Elizabethan Sermons and Anglican Literature," Journal of British Studies 15 (1976): 1-20; Paul Seaver, "The Puritan Work Ethic Revisited," Journal of British Studies 19 (1980): 35-53; C. John Sommerville, "The Anti-Puritan Work Ethic," Journal of British Studies 20 (1981): 70-81. For an excellent overview of the entire secularization argument, see C. John Sommerville, The Secularization of Early Modern England: From Religious Culture, to Religious Faith (New York: Oxford UP, 1992). Christopher Hill perhaps more than anyone has maintained a purely Weberian view of Puritanism, but his approach has come under significant criticism. Cf. Christopher Hill, "Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism," Change and Continuity in Seventeenth-Century England (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1975) 81-102; J. H. Hexter, On Historians (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1979) 227-51; Seaver 36-8. On the problematic nature of Weber's use of dichotomous ideal types, see Fischhoff 72-5; Gabriel Kolko, "Max Weber on America: Theory and Evidence," History and Theory 1 (1961): 243-60; Wallace M. Davis, "'Anticritical Last Word on The Spirit of Capitalism,' by Max Weber," American Journal of Sociology 83 (1978): 1106-7.

10. For American supporters of Weber, see, e.g., Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920, 3 vols. (1927; Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1987) 3-8; A. Whitney Griswold, "Three Puritans on Prosperity," New England Quarterly 7 (1934): 475-93; Max Savelle, Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind (New York: Knopf,



1948) 188; Wright, Middle-Class 199-200; Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York: Random, 1958); Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 24 (1967) 3-8. For critics, see, e.g., Clive Day, "Capitalistic and Socialistic Tendencies in the Puritan Colonies," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1920 (Washington: GPO, 1925) 223-35; E. Johnson, American 6-8, 86-100; Dorfman 1: 29-74; Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1956) 138-9, 143; Samuelsson 55-79, 113-5; Kolko 246; Page Smith, As A City Upon A Hill: The Town in American History (Cambridge: MIT P, 1966) 189-90; J.E. Crowley, This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974) 60-3, 83-5; John Frederick Martin, Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1991) 1-4. Tawney himself finds Weber's interpretation less applicable to colonial New England, noting the strong parallel between New England and Calvin's Geneva rather than the individualistic tendencies of Calvin's influence on England. See Tawney, Religion 127-31. Problematically for supporters of Weber, historians have also closely linked a secularized Puritanism to late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century republicanism with its antithetical attitude toward capitalism. See, e.g., Gordon Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1969) 418; Robert E. Shalhope, "Toward a Republican Synthesis: The Emergence of an Understanding of Republicanism in American Historiography," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 29 (1972): 63, 68-9; Robert E. Shalhope, "Republicanism and Early American Historiography" William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 39 (1982): 350-1.

11. C. B. Macpherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962). Leo Strauss developed a similar if less provocative interpretation of seventeenth-century English thought implicitly linking Locke's theory of property rights with the spirit of capitalism without making sweeping statements about the nature of English society. See Leo Strauss, Natural Right and History (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1953) 234-5, 242-8. There are of course many parallels between the political literature on liberalism versus republicanism and the economic literature on the rise of capitalism, resting as they do on similar Aristotelian dichotomies. See, e.g., Lance Banning, "Jeffersonian Ideology Revisited: Liberal and Classical Ideas in the New American Republic," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 43 (1986): 11-2, 16. On Franklin, see Weber, Protestant Ethic 48-54; Lewis J. Carey, Frank-

lin's Economic Views (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1928) 214; Kolko 244. See further discussion of liberalism below.

12. Joyce Appleby, "Ideology and Theory: The Tension between Political and Economic Liberalism in Seventeenth-Century England," American Historical Review 81 (1976): 499-515; Albert O. Hirschman, The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977); Joyce Oldhan Appleby, Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978).

13. Nathan Rosenberg, "Some Institutional Aspects of the Wealth of Nations," Journal of Political Economy 68 (1960): 557-70; Alan Ryan, "Locke and the Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie," Political Studies 13 (1965): 219-30; E. J. Hundert, "The Making of Homo Faber: John Locke between Ideology and History," Journal of the History of Ideas 33 (1972): 3-17; J. A. W. Gunn, Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century (London: Routledge, 1969); John Dunn, The Political Thought of John Locke: An Historical Account of the Argument of the 'Two Treatises of Government' (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969) 210-63; Nathan Rosenberg, "Adam Smith on Profits--Paradox Lost and Regained," Journal of Political Economy 82 (1974): 1177-90; Crowley, Sheba; J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1975) 390-1, 423-552; E. J. Hundert, "Market Society and Meaning in Locke's Political Philosophy," Journal of the History of Philosophy 15 (1977): 33-44; Thomas A. Horne, The Social Thought of Bernard Mandeville: Virtue and Commerce in Early Eighteenth-Century England (New York: Columbia UP, 1978) ix, 54-63, 77-94; Keith Tribe, Land, Labour and Economic Discourse (London: Routledge, 1978) 35-52; Donald Winch, Adam Smith's Politics: An Essay in Historiographic Revision (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978); Richard R. Johnson, "Politics Redefined: An Assessment of Recent Writings on the Late Stuart Period of English History, 1660 to 1714," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 710-1; James Tully, A Discourse on Property: John Locke and his Adversaries (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980) 148-50; Karen Iversen Vaughan, John Locke: Economist and Social Scientist (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1980) 77-107; Pocock, "Cambridge Paradigms" 243; Thomas A. Horne, "Bourgeois Virtues: Property and Moral Philosophy in America, 1750-1800," History of Political Thought 4 (1983): 317-40; Nathan Tarcov, "A 'Non-Lockean' Locke and the Character of Liberalism," Liberalism Reconsidered, eds. Douglas MacLean and Claudia Mills (Totowa, NJ: Rowman, 1983) 130-40; Donald Winch, "Economic Liberalism as Ideology: The Appleby Version," Economic History Review 2nd ser. 38 (1985): 287-97; Banning 14, 16; James T. Kloppenberg, "The



Virtues of Liberalism: Christianity, Republicanism, and Ethics in Early American Political Discourse," Journal of American History 74 (1987): 9-33; Donald Winch, "Adam Smith and the Liberal Tradition," Traditions of Liberalism: Essays on John Locke, Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, ed. Knud Haakonssen (St. Leonards, NSW, Australia: Centre for Independent Studies, 1988) 81-104; Malcolm Jack, Corruption & Progress: The Eighteenth-Century Debate (New York: AMS, 1989) 3-4, 20; James R. Jacob, "The Political Economy of Science in Seventeenth-Century England," Social Research 59 (1992): 505-32; Craig Muldrew, "Interpreting the Market: The Ethics of Credit and Community Relations in Early Modern England." Social History 18 (1993): 167. For criticism of Weber's interpretation of Franklin, who embraced a capitalist ethic neither in his writings nor his life, see Kolko 255-7; Crowley 83-4; Tony Dickson and Hugh V. McLachlan, "In Search of 'The Spirit of Capitalism': Weber's Misinterpretation of Franklin," Sociology 23 (1989): 81-9.

14. Cf. Appleby, "Ideology" 512, 515; Joyce Appleby, "Response to J.G.A. Pocock," Newsletter (Intellectual History Group) 4 (1982): 20-2; Joyce Appleby, Liberalism and Republicanism in the Historical Imagination (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992) 336-8. Peter Laslett also paradoxically accepts Macpherson's interpretation of seventeenth-century English society while rejecting the dominance of "possessive individualism" as an economic ethic and, indeed, seconding Lawrence Stone on the dominance of the aristocratic ethic in England well into the nineteenth century. Cf. Peter Laslett, rev. of The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, by C. B. Macpherson, Historical Journal 7 (1964): 150-4; Peter Laslett, The World We Have Lost, 2nd ed. (New York: Scribner's, 1973) 35-9, 63, 268n32; Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979) 8-9, 16.

15. Louis Dupré, "The Common Good and the Open Society," Review of Politics 55 (1993): 687-8, 694-6, 702.

16. In the Middle Ages, theologians gave even greater emphasis to private spirituality over the common good; but over time, in response to various public crises, any precedence of spiritual over earthly realms became at the least non-problematic, if not reversed. See Savelle 185; George L. Mosse, The Holy Pretence: A Study in Christianity and Reason of State from William Perkins to John Winthrop (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957); Gaines Post, Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1964) 13, 19, 443; Felix Raab, The English Face of Machiavelli: A Changing Interpretation 1500-1700 (London: Routledge, 1964); Dupré 688-93.

17. Post 183; Isaiah Berlin, Four Essays on Liberty (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1969) 118-72; "Liberty," OED, 1933 ed.; "Libertas," Oxford Latin Dictionary, 1976 ed.; Hexter, On Historians 293-303; Guy Howard Dodge, Benjamin Constant's Philosophy of Liberalism: A Study in Politics and Religion (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980) 34-51; Alan Harding, "Political Liberty in the Middle Ages," Speculum 55 (1980): 423-43; Quentin Skinner, "The Idea of Negative Liberty: Philosophical and Historical Perspectives," Philosophy in History: Essays on the Historiography of Philosophy, eds. Richard Rorty et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1984) 194, 197; Joyce Appleby, Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s (New York: New York UP, 1984) 15-23; Stephen Holmes, Benjamin Constant and the Making of Modern Liberalism (New Haven: Yale UP, 1984) 31-52; J. G. A. Pocock, Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985) 37-42, 104-5; Rahe 15, 39.

18. Skinner, "Idea" 218. See also Jean Bodin, qtd. in J. S. Slotkin, ed., Readings in Early Anthropology (New York: Wenner, 1965) 70.

19. Weber, Protestant Ethic 56; Tawney, Religion xiii, 15-62, 84-5, 149, 216; Tilgher 5-49; E. Johnson, American 83-4; Knappen 401-23; Schlatter 119-23; Beer 19, 25, 33-4; Edmund Whittaker, A History of Economic Ideas (New York: Longmans, 1940) 63-83; Helen C. White, Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century (New York: Macmillan, 1944) 189-254; Savelle 188-90; Joseph A. Schumpeter, History of Economic Analysis, ed. Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter (New York: Oxford UP, 1954) 51-142; Baldwin 1-92; Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature (1952; Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1967); S. White, Coke 88; Langholm 46-55; Stanford M. Lyman, The Seven Deadly Sins: Social and Evil, 2nd ed. (Dix Hills, NY: General Hall, 1989); Kevin Sharpe, Politics and Ideas in Early Stuart England: Essays and Studies (London: Pinter, 1989) 13.

20. C. H. McIlwain, "Mediaeval Institutions in the Modern World," Speculum 16 (1941): 280-3; Harding 424. Unfortunately, some historians in the recent republicanism-liberalism debate like J. G. A. Pocock, in the tradition of several thinkers of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, have completely missed or ignored the strong historical roots of negative liberty in their obsession with the persistence of the positive classical republican image in the face of the modern threat of capitalism. See Benedetto Croce, History as the Story of Liberty, trans. Sylvia Sprigge (London: Allen, 1941) 245-9; Hexter, On Historians 293-303; Dodge 34-51. For

Pocock's rather weak justification for this dismissal, see Pocock, Virtue 104-5.

21. Gunn, Politics; Robert Eccleshall, Order and Reason in Politics: Theories of Absolute and Limited Monarchy in Early Modern England (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978); J. A. W. Gunn, "Public Interest," Political Innovation and Conceptual Change, eds. Terence Ball et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 195, 198-204; Sharpe 7-8, 10-3; Rahe 30-1, 39, 48-9, 52-4, 57-8, 93-4, 322, 364-479, 511; Dupré 687-8, 696-8, 701-2.

22. Tawney, Religion 259-60; Harold J. Laski, The Rise of European Liberalism: An Essay in Interpretation (London: Allen, 1936); Alfred F. Chalk, "Natural Law and the Rise of Economic Individualism in England," Journal of Political Economy 59 (1951): 332-47; Strauss 242-6 et passim; Eli F. Heckscher, Mercantilism, ed. E. F. Söderlund, trans. Mendel Shapiro, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes, 1955) 2: 267-339; Sidney Fine, Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought 1865-1901 (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1956); Macpherson, Possessive Individualism; William D. Grampp, Economic Liberalism, 2 vols. (New York: Random, 1965); Walzer 300-6; Hirschman, Passions; Appleby, Capitalism 15-23; Michael Lessnoff, Social Contract (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities, 1986) 6-8; Skinner, "Idea" 193-221; Dupré 688, 697-8, 701-3; A. John Simmons, On the Edge of Anarchy: Locke, Consent, and the Limits of Society (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 33-6.

23. Cf. Strauss 242-6; Charles H. Monson, Jr., "Locke's Political Theory and Its Interpreters," Locke and Berkeley: A Collection of Critical Essays (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968) 186; Dunn 251. Dupré notes continuing resistance to natural rights theory by utilitarians like Bentham, Hume, and Adam Smith. See Dupré 698. Gunn points out that very few political liberals were also liberal in their economic thought. See Gunn, Politics 317. What increasingly showed up in political discourse in early modern England were explicit "mercantilist" statements that "guided" self-interest could serve the common good but this reflects acceptance of the pursuit of self-interest more as an "operative" than an "ideal" value. See Chapter 4.

24. Appleby, "Response" 21; Appleby, Liberalism 336-8. For a similar argument for the American colonies, see Crowley 45-9. Appleby indeed believes that economic liberalism would have triumphed in late seventeenth-century England but for a lack of political liberalism. See, Appleby "Ideology" 499-515.



25. In this analysis of normative values in England, I follow the lead of several historians of political thought in early modern England like J. A. W. Gunn, G. L. Harriss, J. P. Sommerville, Kevin Sharpe, David Harris Sack, Clive Holmes, and Peter N. Miller, who eschew the traditional exclusive focus on Hobbes and Locke to draw out the ideas of more typical thinkers in their full social and political context.

26. Clive Holmes, "Parliament, Liberty, Taxation, and Property," Parliament and Liberty from the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War, ed. J. H. Hexter (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992) 148. See Savelle 185; Helen M. Cam, Antonio Marongiu, and Günther Stökl, "Recent Work and Present Views on the Origins and Development of Representative Assemblies," Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Vol. I. Metodologia Problemi Generali-Scienze Ausiliarie della Storia, ed. G. C. Sansoni (Firenze: n.p., 1955) 15-21; Post, Studies; Gunn, Politics 1-2; Stephen D. White, Sir Edward Coke and 'The Grievances of the Commonwealth,' 1621-1628 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 88; Seaver 48; Jon Kukla, Political Institutions in Virginia, 1619-1660 (New York: Garland, 1989) 49-50; Sharp 3-20; Quentin Skinner, "Machiavelli's Discorsi and the Pre-humanist Origins of Republican Ideas," Machiavelli and Republicanism, eds. Gisela Bock et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 137; David Harris Sack, "Parliament, Liberty, and the Commonweal," Parliament and Liberty from the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War, ed. J. H. Hexter (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992) 85-92; Holmes 122-54; Peter N. Miller, Defining the Common Good: Empire, Religion and Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994).

27. Post 22-3; Gunn, Politics 1; Sharp 10-1.

28. Post 19, 114n97, 253, 258, 316-7; Gunn, Politics ix-x; Gunn, "Public Interest" 195, 197; Sharpe 10-1, 14.

29. Gunn, Politics 1-2.

30. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1957) 173; Gunn, Politics 1; Sharpe 14; Rahe 25-6.

31. Kevin Sharpe especially finds these analogies quite revealing. See Sharpe 3-20. For comparisons to social insects, see, e.g., Sir Thomas More, Utopia, eds. George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 16; John Cooke [Cook], Unum Necessarium: or The Poore Mans Case (London, 1648) 71; [John Houghton], England's Great Happiness, A Select Collection of Early English Tracts on



Commerce, ed. J. R. McCulloch (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970) 13; John Houghton, Husbandry and Trade Improv'd, ed. Richard Bradley, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (London, 1728) 4: 65; William Petty, The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, ed. Charles Henry Hull, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1899) 1: 110; John Cary, An Essay on the State of England, in Relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes, For carrying on the present War against France (Bristol, 1695) 66; Bernard Mandeville, The Fables of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits, ed. F. B. Kaye, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1924); [Mathew Decker], An Essay on the Causes of the Decline of the Foreign Trade (Clifton: Kelley, 1973) 65-6; Josiah Tucker, A Brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great Britain, with regard to Trade, A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on Commerce, ed. John R. McCulloch (New York: Kelley, 1966) 56, 230; Francis Moore, Considerations on the Exorbitant Price of Provisions (London, 1773) 79-81; James Anderson, Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry Chiefly Intended to Promote the Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland (New York: Kelley, 1968) 418; Francis Townsend, A Dissertation on the Poor Laws, A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Economical Tracts, ed. J. R. McCulloch (London, 1859) 9-10. See also Richard B. Schlatter, The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders 1660-1688 (London: Oxford UP, 1940) 146, 196; Appleby, Economic 136-7; Keith Thomas, Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility (New York: Pantheon, 1983) 61-3. For classical and medieval analogies to social insects, see Craufurd Tait Ramage, Familiar Quotations from Greek Authors, 2nd ed. (1895; Detroit: Gale, 1968) 215, 228; Ernest Barker, The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle (1906; New York: Russell, 1959) 270; Post 504, 518; Michael Landmann, De Homine: Man in the Mirror of His Thought, trans. David J. Parent (Normal, IL: Applied Literature, 1979) 205, 259-60; George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams, eds., Utopia, by Thomas More (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 16n; Rahe 56.

32. Elizabeth Rawson, The Spartan Tradition in European Thought (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969) 139-241; Rahe 136-72.

33. Sharpe 11.

34. Post 19, 443, 503; Gunn, Politics 7-8; Sharpe 10-3; Rahe 30-1.

35. Gunn, Politics 18-9; G. E. Aylmer, The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625-1642, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 1974) 464; Sharpe 11-4, 20-3.

36. Clarence J. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Berkeley: U of California P, 1967) 432, 449; Rowland Berthoff, "Independence and Attachment, Virtue and Interest: From Republican Citizen to Free Enterpriser, 1787-1837," Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin (Boston: Little, 1979) 100; Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution: Studies in Interpretation of the English Revolution of the 17th Century (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986) 58-125; Rahe 931-2n75. Alan Macfarlane has gone to the extreme of using evidence of these liberties to contend that England was always capitalist, but his analysis does not address the greater ethical framework in which these liberties operated and thus offers little more than a footnote to the debates over both the rise of capitalism and liberalism. See Alan Macfarlane, The Origins of English Individualism: The Family, Property, and Social Transition (New York: Cambridge UP, 1979); Alan Macfarlane, The Culture of Capitalism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987). Going to the other extreme, Macpherson seems to believe that pre-capitalist English property rights included no individual rights. See C. B. Macpherson, "Capitalism and the Changing Concept of Property," Feudalism, Capitalism and Beyond, eds. Eugene Kamenka and R. S. Neale (New York: St. Martin's, 1975) 104-24.

37. Julian Pitt-Rivers, "Honor," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. David L. Sills, 19 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1968) 6: 509-10; E. P. Thompson, Whigs and Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act (New York: Pantheon, 1975) 258-69; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and behavior in the Old South (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) 71; Pocock, Virtue 104; Rahe 25-6. Gaines Post's excellent Studies in Medieval Legal Thought traces the concomitant rise of the state and the demise of earlier liberties in the face of superior claims of the common good. See Post 175-6 et passim. See further discussion of public necessity below.

38. Reinhold Niebuhr, The Children of Light and The Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defense (New York: Scribner's, 1960) 24-5; Jacob Viner, "The Intellectual History of Laissez Faire," Journal of Law and Economics 3 (1960): 56; Warren B. Catlin, The Progress of Economics: A History of Economic Thought (New York: Bookman, 1962) 137-53; Thomas 223-4, 229; Appleby, "Modernization" 263; Gunn, Politics 211-2, 234; Sack 85-121.

39. Viner 54-5; David Little, Religion, Order, and Law: A Study in Pre-Revolutionary England (New York: Harper, 1969) 167-217; S. White, Coke 18-23, 31-3, 80n199, 86-8; Gunn, "Public Interest" 195, 197; Sack 93-101.

40. For an historiographical review of Pound's thesis and the ensuing debates, see Little 238-46.

41. Cf. "Necessity," OED, 1933 ed.; "Poverty," OED, 1933 ed.; "Necessitas," Oxford Latin Dictionary, 1976 ed.

42. See, e.g., Thomas 223; J. Thomas Kelly, Thorns on the Tudor Rose: Monks, Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars (Jackson, MI: UP of Mississippi, 1977) 74-8.

43. Schlatter 124-45; Post 13, 21-2, 494-561; Thomas 225-9; Brian Tierney, Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England (Berkeley: U of California P, 1959) 22-46, 146n17; Gunn, Politics 17-26; Thomas A. Horne, Property Rights and Poverty: Political Argument in Britain, 1605-1834 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1990) 4-5 et passim; P. Miller, Defining 80-3.

44. Thomas Benfield Harbottle, Anthology of Classical Quotations (San Antonio: Scylax, 1984) 151; Post 21-2, 318n21; Tierney 37-8; Bergen Evans, Dictionary of Quotations (New York: Delacorte, 1968) 480.

45. Cooke 11, 44; Rodick 1-25; Post 21-2, 316-7; Thomas 225-6; Douglas Hay, "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law," Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England (New York: Pantheon, 1975) 35-6.

46. Wright, Middle-Class 172-84.

47. Post 271; P. Miller, Defining 80.

48. E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York: Vintage, 1960); Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1964) 386-435; Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion & Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper, 1966) 17-8; Gunn, Politics 209; David George Hale, The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature (The Hague: Mouton, 1971); Sharpe 7-8. J. P. Sommerville adds a healthy caution against extending such analogies too far. See J. P. Sommerville, Politics and Ideology in England, 1603-1640 (London: Longman, 1986) 48.

49. Schlatter 103-4; Tierney 37-8; Paul Slack, Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England (London: Longman, 1988) 2-5, 17, 38-9.

50. Tierney 34-8; John Sekora, Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1977) 23-62.



51. Tierney 36, 146-7n24.

52. Cooke 44.

53. Schlatter 91-3.

54. Casuistical attempts to define such terms would continue into eighteenth-century debates over luxury. See Sekora 63-131.

55. Michel Mollat, The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven: Yale UP, 1986) 1-7. The terms "competency" and "competence" were interchangeable in early modern England. The Oxford English Dictionary defines "competency" as "a sufficiency of means for living comfortably; a comfortable living or estate." See "Competency," OED, 1933 ed. Samuel Johnson defined competency as "such a fortune as, without exuberance, is equal to the necessities of life," quoting Shakespeare 2 Henry IV, v. v. 70 'For competence of life I will allow you, That lack of meanes enforce you not to evil.' See Samuel Johnson, A Dictionary of the English Language, 6th ed., 2 vols. (London, 1785). Other lexicographers defined competency as "a fortune equal to the necessities of life" and "a sufficient Estate, Stock of Learning, &c." See Thomas Sheridan, A General Dictionary of the English Language, 2 vols. (1780; Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1967); John Kersey, Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum (1708; Menston, England: Scholar, 1969). In the mid-seventeenth century, dictionaries often defined competency simply as "sufficiency, or having enough." See, e.g., Edward Phillips, The New World of English Words (1658; Menston, England: Scholar, 1969); Elisha Coles, The English Dictionary (1676; Menston, England: Scholar, 1971). For contemporary political economists, see Cooke 2, 37; Petty, qtd. in William Roscher, Principles of Political Economy, trans. John J. Lalor, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1882) 168n; Sir William Temple, The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart., 4 vols. (London, 1814) 3: 56; Sir Francis Brewster, Essays on Trade and Navigation (London, 1695) 120; Jacob Vanderlint, Money Answers All Things, ed. Jacob H. Hollander (1734; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1914) 99-102; Malachy Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved, 2 vols. (London, 1757) 1: 35-6. For later eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American examples of the use of the term ranging from James Madison to Andrew Carnegie, see Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1950) 136; Paul M. Gaston, The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking (New York: Knopf, 1970) 110; Appleby, Capitalism 100; Rahe 731-2. The terms "competence" or "competency" retains the same dictionary meaning today, kept alive by numerous English and American historians who continue to



employ the term to describe the life goal of Puritans, merchants, immigrants, and farmers. See, e.g., Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (1920; New York: Holt, 1962) 32; John Spencer Bassett, "The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1901, 2 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1902) 1: 572; Tawney, Religion 216; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The First Americans 1607-1690 (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 88; Rupert B. Vance, Human Geography of the South: A Study in Regional Resources and Human Adequacy, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1935) 468, 470; Joseph Schafer, "Some Facts bearing on the Safety-Valve Theory," Wisconsin Magazine of History 20 (1936): 230; W. K. Jordan, Men of Substance: A Study of the Thought of Two English Revolutionaries Henry Parker and Henry Robinson (1942; New York: Octagon, 1967) 220; Paul Wallace Gates, "The Role of the Land Speculator in Western Development," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 66 (1942): 314; Dorfman 1: 183-4; Savelle 220; P. Smith, City 189; Aubrey C. Land, ed., Bases of the Plantation Society (Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1969) 22-3; Christopher Clark, "Household Economy, Market Exchange and the Rise of Capitalism in the Connecticut Valley, 1800-1860," Journal of Social History 13 (1979): 175; Richard L. Bushman, "Family Security in the Transition from Farm to City, 1750-1850," Journal of Family History 6 (1981): 240. For more detailed analyses of the concept, see Werner Sombart, The Quintessence of Capitalism: A Study of the History and Psychology of the Modern Business Man, trans. M. Epstein (New York: Dutton, 1915) 13-7; E. Johnson, American 81-100, 103, 227; George and George 162; Macpherson, "Capitalism" 105-6, 110-2; Alan Dawley, Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976) 151, 217; Daniel Vickers, "Competency and Competition: Economic Culture in Early America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 47 (1990): 3-4; Ronald Schultz, The Republic of Labor: Philadelphia Artisans and the Politics of Class, 1720-1830 (New York: Oxford UP, 1993) 6-7.

56. Pocock, Virtue 104.

57. For classical roots, see Trever 26, 87-8, 112; Pocock, "Cambridge Paradigms" 235-7; Pocock, Virtue 103-23; Parker and Stead 21; Rahe 38-9, 94. Jack Greene analyzes "independence" in almost identical terms, "emphatically" denying any association with "a drive for profit maximization." See Jack P. Greene, "Independence, Improvement, and Authority: Toward a Framework for Understanding the Histories of the Southern Backcountry during the Era of the American Revolution," An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry during the American Revolution, eds. Ronald Hoffman et al. (Charlottesville: UP

of Virginia, 1985) 12-5, esp. 13n11. See also Wyatt-Brown 72-4.

58. Cf. Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1954) 11-2; Weymouth T. Jordan, "Some Problems of Colonial Tobacco Planters: A Critique," Agricultural History 43 (1969): 86.

59. Temple, Works 3: 56; Dawley 151; Seaver 48-9; Jack 147; Vickers 3.

60. The relationship between these socioeconomic views and increased acceptance of the idea of "progress" is unclear. For some suggestive ideas, see Chapter 8.

61. Arthur B. Ferguson, The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1965) 227-8.

62. Much of the Weberian literature highlights the new, if ambiguous, elements in the Puritan writings stressing the duty of accumulation and the duty to better one's condition in one's choice of vocation if God provides the means. See Wright, Middle-Class 172-84. One can also see changes from the earlier view in the thinkers highlighted by Macpherson, Appleby, and Hirschman, as well as numerous political economists who found in improved standards of living the solution to the more damaging problem of indolence. See Chapter 4.

63. Dorothy Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Social and Administrative History (1926; London: Routledge, 1969) 15-7; Gunn, Politics 236; Kelly 55-81; H. T. Dickinson, Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain (London: Weidenfeld, 1977); Sack 92, 99-100; P. Miller, Defining 49-67. See further Chapter 5.

64. Burleigh Cushing Rodick, The Doctrine of Necessity in International Law (New York: Columbia UP, 1928) 1-25; E. Johnson, American 238; Cam et al. 15-21; Post 8-23, 112-4, 153-4, 242, 246-7, 250-4, 258, 262, 304-5, 313, 318n21, 503, 557-9; Charles C. Bayley, "Pivotal Concepts in the Political Philosophy of William of Ockham," Journal of the History of Ideas 10 (1949): 199-211; Kantorowicz 106-7, 235-7, 260, 287-8; Rahe 263.

65. Sydney Anglo. Machiavelli: A Dissection (New York: Harcourt, 1969) 191-3, 205-7; Mark Hulliung, Citizen Machiavelli (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983) 224; Rahe 263, 265, 929n57.

66. G. L. Harriss, "Medieval Doctrines in the Debates on Supply, 1610-1629," Faction and Parliament: Essays on Early Stuart History, ed. Kevin Sharpe (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 73-103; C. Holmes, "Parliament" 123.
67. Gunn, Politics xi; P. Miller, Defining 37-48, 73-5.
68. Post 147, 306-7; Kantorowicz 107, 284-91. For a classical critique by Euripides of the tendency to turn the excuse of necessity into the mockery of necessity, see J. J. Chambliss, Educational Theory as Theory of Conduct: From Aristotle to Dewey (Albany: State U of New York P, 1987) 14.
69. Thomas More, Utopia, eds. George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 31-2.
70. W. Gurney Putnam, Putnam's Complete Book of Quotations and Household Words (New York: Putnam's, n.d.) 219a, 104b. See Gunn, Politics 32-3, 84-5, 90-1, 126-9, 205, 326.
71. Gunn, Politics 2-3.
72. Gunn, Politics 35-44, 206-7, 300. On seventeenth-century operative acceptance of universal self-interestedness, see Chapter 4.
73. Gunn, Politics 15, 108, 299; Gunn, "Public Interest" 198; Dupré 695-6. Machiavelli and Bacon also spoke of the common good in terms of "the common benefit of each." See Rahe 266, 280-1.
74. Gunn, Politics 44-53.
75. Gunn, Politics ix-xii, 1-35, 266-321.
76. Gunn, Politics 82-108, 312.
77. Gordon Wood explicitly rejects the applicability of political liberalism in the ideology of the American Revolution, embodying as it did "the ideal of the good society as it had been set forth from antiquity through the eighteenth century." See G. Wood, Creation 53-63, esp. 59. Cf. Horne, "Bourgeois Virtues" 317-40. See also Appendix IV.
78. Gunn, Politics x-xi; Pocock, Machiavellian 445-6, 462-505; R. Johnson, "Politics" 710-1. Cf. Richard Ashcraft, "Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men," The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism, eds. Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1972) 142-8, 169n1-2.



79. Gunn, Politics 17-8, 211-2, 225; P. Miller, Defining 76-87, 102.

80. Strauss 246-7; Gunn, Politics 59-70, 210, 281-94, 299; Rahe 511-2.

81. Gunn, Politics 19-23, 210.

82. Gunn, Politics 197, 225, 323, 327-8.

83. Gunn, Politics 299.

84. Gunn, Politics 324, 336-7; Rahe 266; Dupré 698.

85. Gunn, Politics xii, 8-15, 28, 31, 107, 322-4. See also Chapter 5.

86. Gunn, Politics 11-2, 15, 28, 31, 86, 107-8, 322, 324; Tarcov 130-40; Horne, Property 5, 24-8, 48-65. Keith Thomas makes the case that this view of private necessity was rejected by late seventeenth-century bourgeois thinkers like Sir Matthew Hale and Richard Baxter whose view became the dominant eighteenth-century position and the one adopted by Blackstone. Horne more correctly finds this conception of private property still prevalent in some form or another in most British thought within the natural law tradition, including Blackstone, well into the nineteenth century, only developing into separate private property and welfare rights in the twentieth century. Cf. Thomas 225-7; Horne, Property.

87. Gunn, Politics 322. Shelley Burtt suggests the change reflected a shift from in emphasis from "publicly oriented" to "privately oriented" civic virtue. See Shelley Burtt, Virtue Transformed: Political Argument in England, 1688-1740 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992).

88. Peter Miller makes a case for a late eighteenth-century transformation reflected in the revolutionary ideas of Kant and the American and British Whigs on representation and federation that "redefined the very understanding of community." But he also acknowledges that these developments did not mean the complete triumph of economic and political liberalism, since neither Kant nor the Whigs wished to nor could discard the notions of a common good and necessity. Whether these changes, explicitly giving individual citizens some additional say in determining the common good, suggest a transformation--that although the commonwealth ideology persisted, it had come to "serve a different master"--remains debatable. See P. Miller, Defining 413-21.



### CHAPTER 3 PLANTING A COMMONWEALTH

The anomalous position of colonial Virginia in the debate over a transition to capitalism is well reflected in the contrasting positions of Max Weber and Perry Miller on the nature and explanation of the rise of capitalism. Both would agree that the eighteenth-century Yankee represented the modern spirit of capitalism. But whereas Weber followed an ideological approach emphasizing the direct contribution of Puritanism to the rise of capitalism, Miller took the anti-Weberian environmentalist approach, stressing the role of the demise of Puritanism in unleashing the capitalist spirit.<sup>1</sup>

The contrast between these two scholars stands out even more in their opposing interpretations of colonial Virginia. Drawing his pre-Bruce and pre-Wertenbaker history of Cavalier Virginia from English historian John Andrew Doyle, Weber noted the paradox of this traditional society having evolved out of the capitalist purposes of a joint-stock company. The paradox confirmed his belief that New England Puritanism provided the key to Yankee capitalism. Miller, in contrast, accepted the Wertenbaker consensus on the modern nature of seventeenth-century Virginia society but found a

completely different paradox. Highlighting the Puritan elements in the literature of the Company years, Miller observed in early seventeenth-century Virginia a condensed version of his New England declension, with the process of Americanization completed in Virginia before the Puritans even arrived in Massachusetts Bay.

Few scholars have accepted either interpretation of seventeenth-century Virginia. Most have rejected Weber's traditionalist argument out of hand and look askance at any need to emphasize the early piety Miller found. Yet even fewer have ever bothered to examine directly the relevance to seventeenth-century Virginia of any of the traditional arguments about the transition to capitalism or the rise of liberalism so prevalent in the historiography of seventeenth-century England.<sup>2</sup>

Before assessing the relevance of such modern concepts as capitalism or liberalism to seventeenth-century Virginia we need to examine the same type of normative ideals which social scientists have so carefully unearthed for contemporaneous England. Such a study shows that seventeenth-century Virginia planters differed little in their ideal values from Englishmen on the other side of the Atlantic. Traditional English values were definitely part of the cultural baggage of these first Anglo-Americans. Indeed, the language itself remained more firmly traditional in Virginia over the course of the seventeenth century, as resistant to the challenge of

the New World environment as to the new ideas of "interest" increasingly prevalent among English thinkers in the second half of the seventeenth century, firmly entrenched in the language dominant in England at the time of first planting.

Nevertheless, this language--when applied to the framing and interpretation of the laws of the colony--proved in practice as dynamic and malleable to new circumstances as it had in England. Indeed, the legal developments in colonial Virginia represent a parallel evolution of the balance between individual good, liberty, necessity, and the common good in response to the same market forces that shaped the development of "mercantilism"--a shorthand label that historians have attached to the complex system of political and economic thought and practice in seventeenth-century England whose frequently misunderstood normative grounding we have explored.

#### Common Good and Public Necessity

Intellectual historians of the colonial South have traditionally emphasized "social-cultural themes" rather than ideas, with most scholars attributing this to the relative lack of literary production out of the Southern colonies, especially those published sermons which served as "the public expression of the community" in New England.<sup>3</sup> However, as Miller himself showed in his analysis of the Virginia Company literature, the demonstration of the public

or normative mind need not be restricted to sermons. The historian of normative thought in colonial Virginia performance must depend more on other types of literary evidence, including one particularly neglected source--the preambles to the acts and other addresses and petitions of the Grand Assembly--supplemented by promotional literature and private correspondence.

Normative statements abound in the language employed by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses to justify their actions and petitions. For example, in March 1632 the Grand Assembly justified the restriction of vessels to the port of James City on the basis that "nothings can more conduce to the welfare of this colony, then that some effectuall course be taken in the trade of our tobacco."<sup>4</sup> In October 1673, the preamble to the acts of Assembly opens: "To the glory of Almighty God and publique weale of this his majesties colony of Virginia, were enacted as followeth...."<sup>5</sup> Whether phrased positively as "the publique good" (1666), the "publique weal" (1673,1674), "welfare" (1632,1647), "necessity" (1633,1646,1662), "happiness" (1664), "prosperity" (1664), "the present honor and reputation" (1669), "the future great benefitt and profitt" of the colony (1669); or, negatively, as "burthensome" (1638) or "much prejudiciall to the commonwealth and good of this colony" (1648), all seventeenth-century acts of Assembly were justified (when any normative



justification was given) by employing the rhetoric of the commonwealth ideology.<sup>6</sup>

The historian should, of course, remain wary of treating such rhetoric too literally since all laws and petitions were subject to Crown approval and the power structure of the English empire left the colonists little choice but to frame their arguments in the accepted language of the day. Nevertheless, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary one may surmise that English ethics were quite readily transplanted to seventeenth-century Virginia.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, as we shall see, the normative language in actual practice proved so flexible that there was little reason not to continue drawing upon the power of the traditional rhetoric.

In the name of the common good, the Assembly throughout the seventeenth century justified multifarious types of regulation. Like all the other Anglo-American colonies, Virginia from the beginning constrained the pursuit of wealth in diverse aspects of the economy. There were, for example, statutes for: "the keepinge of every man to his Trade"; regulating wages; regulating fees of various professions such as surveyors, surgeons, and physicians; outlawing or severely restricting fees of attorneys; regulating gains of various tradesmen, including millers, ordinary keepers, liquor retailers, shippers; regulating merchant profits; seconding English laws against engrossing and forestalling;

prohibiting or severely restricting the export and import of certain commodities; promoting self-sufficiency; and Sabbatarian restrictions on business.<sup>8</sup>

The Assembly linked these acts to the common good in a variety of ways. Like good boosters, they often equated the common good with support for intensive and extensive economic development of the colony.<sup>9</sup> The colony retained much of the corporate mentality developed during the Company years, a mentality that showed up most strongly in the regular affirmation of Virginia Company precedents for the regulation of price, marketing, quality, and quantity of tobacco.<sup>10</sup> From the 1610s well into the 1660s, the colony's leaders attempted to sidestep the market by legislating or negotiating for a monopoly price with the Crown or merchants.<sup>11</sup> The Company set a precedent in 1619 for all later store and warehouse acts (as a means to uphold the price of tobacco) when they required that all tobacco be brought to the Cape Merchant at regulated prices, "that by this meanes the same going for Englande into one hande, the price thereof, may be upheld the better."<sup>12</sup>

Quality control began along with representative government, as the House of Burgesses in 1619 passed the original tobacco inspection law prohibiting second-growth tobacco, ordering the lowest grades destroyed, and prohibiting the marketing of suckers, ground leaves, and other "trash" on penalty of burning. Throughout the seventeenth century

subsequent acts repeated these injunctions, some attempting to specify exact methods of planting (including spacing and number of leaves per plant). The laws defined merchantable tobacco, prohibited planters who attempted to market "bad" tobacco from planting again, restricted planters to the "longe type" of tobacco, proscribed harvesting after a certain date, prohibited importation of Carolina tobacco, and eliminated trash by prohibiting bulk tobacco shipment.<sup>13</sup>

Of course, as planters, merchants, and the Crown well understood, quality control was also quantity control and the two were conjoined in endless calls for both better quality and reduced production as the solution to Virginia's ills.<sup>14</sup> As John Rolfe noted in 1616, the Company under Governor Dale had already begun to curb production. Early efforts at "stinting" aimed at regulating the maximum quantity (either number of plants or leaves or total pounds) of tobacco according to the size of the household (perhaps presuming a household's competency proportional to its size) and requiring that a "reasonable proportion" of land be set aside to ensure an adequate corn crop. Later efforts focused on the total cessation of tobacco planting for a fixed period of time or the prohibition of planting or replanting after a fixed date.<sup>15</sup>

Framing such mercantilist acts in terms of the common good frequently involved little more than platitudes about greater convenience or wholesomeness, or reduced incon-

venience, prejudice, or mischief, often linked to the better ordering of trade or upholding the price of tobacco.<sup>16</sup> The logic of the wording rested on prudence and a knowledge of local conditions, tobacco culture, and the nature of the market.<sup>17</sup> Even the acts concerning treatment of servants were based not on human rights or individual liberties but on how information about such treatment would affect the image of the colony in England and thus the colony's ability to attract more servants.<sup>18</sup>

Virginians also appealed to precedent, especially to the custom of the country, when justifying the preservation of "all such rights, goods, liberties and Priviledges whatsoever as were at any time heretofore granted unto the late Company" and traditional perquisites of office. Sometimes they appealed to the precedent of English statutes.<sup>19</sup> On one occasion they even appealed to the mercantilist precedents of other nations in general, justifying efforts to promote self-sufficiency in order to avoid entanglement in foreign wars.<sup>20</sup> Infrequently they used the notion of a higher law, for example, the natural law of self-defense or the religious justification of private property.<sup>21</sup>

In the natural law tradition, Virginians well grasped the concept of public necessity, although the anonymous Virginian who wrote An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America (1701) questioned whether assemblies in the colonies could, "where



Necessity requires, make such Acts as best suit the Circumstances and Constitution of the Country, even tho' in some Particulars, they plainly differ from the Laws of England."<sup>22</sup> While the royal instructions to the governors commanded that colonial laws comply "as near as may be, to the Laws of England," the instructions recognized the inevitable possibility of divergence due to "some extremity," "some unexpected occasions and necessity."<sup>23</sup> Necessity was most particularly the order of the day in the martial law of the early Company years when the very survival of the colony was at stake.<sup>24</sup> But the concept reappeared throughout the seventeenth century whenever any crisis arose. In 1647, realizing that the disorderly seating of land antagonized the Indians "and by such probable event (out of honor and necessity of state) imbroyling and ingageing the country in a troublesome and chargeable warre)," the Grand Assembly ordered an end to the practice.<sup>25</sup> Certain crises demanded extraordinary taxation, like the Indian wars and the effort in the 1670s to raise money to fight the Northern Neck patentees in order to protect Virginia's liberties.<sup>26</sup> In 1666 the Assembly noted that the annual levies were "proportioned to the publique necessity," suggesting a usage comparable to perpetua necessitas.<sup>27</sup> However, the need to distribute this public necessity equitably among all of the citizens--an essential element of the common good in the English tradition--regu-

larly acted as a constraint on the seventeenth-century government.<sup>28</sup>

In whatever way the colonists used the common good or necessity to justify the acts of their assemblies, they knew that for ratification they also had to show how an act served the good of the Crown. Thus they stressed the mutual welfare of Crown and colony. Colonists argued that acts would reduce the cost of maintaining the colony, help develop alternative staples to reduce English dependence on foreign countries, increase Crown customs, and defeat the private ends of merchants detrimental to both Crown and colony.<sup>29</sup> Virginians were most successful in gaining Crown support for their agenda in the 1620s and 1630s with their efforts to ban the importation of Spanish tobacco and domestic tobacco production in England.<sup>30</sup>

One of the most persistent difficulties facing the Virginians was how to justify tobacco stints inasmuch as Crown customs depended far more on the quantity than the quality of tobacco. To this challenge the Virginians responded quite creatively, if sometimes failing to persuade the Crown. Frequently the Assembly claimed that without a stint the low tobacco price would force the planters to abandon the colony and thus decrease tobacco production and customs altogether.<sup>31</sup> In one of the weaker justifications, the Assembly argued that stints would lead to higher quality tobacco and thus increase Crown customs by reducing com-

plaints about "garblinge" (inferior tobacco which did not pay customs). Realizing this argument probably would not sway the Crown, the Assembly offered "if it shall bee deemed His Majestys losse in fallinge from soe greate to a farre lesser quantity of tobaccoe, our desire is His Majesties profitts may bee raised with ours" (without specifying exactly how).<sup>32</sup> In 1666 the Virginians claimed the accumulated tobacco would more than compensate for the tobacco lost due to the proposed stint.<sup>33</sup> Later defenders of bulk tobacco (stuffing ships with loose tobacco and thus increasing exports) showed how such tobacco benefitted his Majesty's interest since the worst as well as the best of tobaccos paid the same customs, while critics complained that bulk tobacco would actually reduce customs by encouraging smuggling.<sup>34</sup>

### Covetousness, Competency, and Poverty

Ubiquitous condemnation of covetousness and avarice suggests that seventeenth-century Virginia hardly proved a fertile ground for a chrematistic ethic--at least on the level of ideal norms. Frequently the colonists complained of excessive prices in the medieval language of a "just price." The avarice of outside merchants seeking to monopolize trade raised the specter of corruption and enslavement.<sup>35</sup> The Burgesses complained in 1638 that "Merchants & Maisters of Shippes," driven by "the boundles desire of gayne," "in the

tymes of theire [the colonists'] necessityes take advantage to sell cloathes and provisions for theire supplyes at great and excessive rates".<sup>36</sup>

Colonists just as regularly accused each other of covetousness. Thus John Rolfe in 1616 criticized the "insatiable greediness" of planters for "the worke of the world"; John Pory in 1619 chided Governor Argall for behaving "more for love of gaine, the root of all evill, then for any true love he bore to this Plantation"; William Capps in 1623 called Governor Yeardley a "right worthie Statesman, for his owne profit"; Governor Harvey accused Dr. John Potts in 1630 of "seekinge his owne benefit by foule & coveteous ways"; Morgan Godwyn in 1685 condemned "that filthy Principle, which I think is almost universally received, and currant amongst them, That whatever conduceth to the getting of Mony, and carrying on of Trade, must certainly be lawful."<sup>37</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century, the Assembly repeatedly condemned endemic avarice in certain professions, especially "mercenary attorneys" and "practitioners in physick and chyrurgery."<sup>38</sup> Within the mercantilist conception of a closed economy, Virginians could hardly argue for or expect more than a competency lest they unwisely profit at the expense of the Crown which depended heavily on tobacco duties.<sup>39</sup>

Competency provided ethical limits on the pursuit of wealth for the seventeenth-century Virginian as much as any



Englishman.<sup>40</sup> One contemporary complained that "there are many little poor parishes not able to give a minister a competent maintenance."<sup>41</sup> William Fitzhugh described his economic goal as "a very good indifferency."<sup>42</sup> Governor William Berkeley hoped at the end of his days to "'return home with a competent subsistence.'"<sup>43</sup> A 1662 law specified that all servants should be provided a "competent dyett."<sup>44</sup> "Men of integrity" required a competent salary to fulfill their public duties.<sup>45</sup> Council members "qualified for their offices under the provisions of Royal Instructions to Colonial Governors regarding appointees of the council 'as men of estates and abilities and not necessitous people or much in debt.'"<sup>46</sup>

The promotional or "present state" literature reinforces this notion of the relevance of competency in both England and her colonies. Although such promotional literature regularly appealed to the baser interests of potential immigrants and investors, it generally framed these interests within the traditional economic ethics of English and colonial society.<sup>47</sup> Virginia never offered endless riches, only the opportunity for release from the harsh work conditions and impoverishment of England and the opportunity for a competency with time and reasonable industry.<sup>48</sup> Ralph Hamor and John Rolfe emphasized the clothing and other necessities which the industrious and honest husbandman could earn with "the least part of his labour."<sup>49</sup> John

Hammond reported that "those Servants that will be industrious may in their time of service gain a competent estate before their Freedomes, which is usually done by many."<sup>50</sup> Far from stressing the opportunity for endless labor in the competition for wealth, the promotional literature stressed the abundance of recreational opportunities granted servants: in winter, before sunrise, after sunset, in summer five hours during the heat of day, Saturday afternoons, the Sabbath, "the old Holidayes"--an attitude not far different from either the English or New England Puritans who likewise played down endless labor in emphasizing "needful recreation."<sup>51</sup>

Although a couple of ministers--Deuel Pead in the late seventeenth century and James Blair in the early eighteenth century--in public sermons condemned in a scholastic manner attempts to better one's condition, the overwhelming evidence suggests that Virginians shared the contemporary English views on the progressive nature of competency, the idea that all Englishmen could share in the accumulation and the enjoyment of wealth provided by increased industry and the freedom of the fruits of one's labor.<sup>52</sup> "Hundreds of examples," declared Governor Berkeley in a speech before the Grand Assembly in 1651, "shew us that Industry and Thrift in a short time may bring us to as high a degree of it [wealth], as the Country and our Conditions are yet capable of."<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, both the Crown and the Assembly never

passed any law restricting the ability of planters to expand the size of their household through the importation, buying, or hiring of servants and/or slaves and thus never established any limit to the level of extensive development. Indeed, despite a recognition of the relative inelasticity of the demand for tobacco, the Assembly throughout the seventeenth century positively encouraged expansion, seeking to attract all entrepreneurs to import as much capital and labor as possible.

The importance of competency in the mind of Englishmen made private necessity a particular threat to the common good in Virginia as in England. Indeed, of all the threats to the common good in seventeenth-century Virginia, none received more attention than ubiquitous poverty. Despite all the claims for a natural or potential paradise, planters lamented their poverty almost from the day they started planting tobacco, as tobacco prices quickly plummeted from astronomical early heights, and they continued to complain about low tobacco prices for the rest of the seventeenth century.<sup>54</sup> Later they would even complain about the poverty of the earliest "boom" years lest anybody in England believe that they could return to prejudicial practices by instituting monopolies or allowing the importation into England of foreign tobacco.<sup>55</sup>

In claiming necessity or fear of necessity--often with graphic details of nakedness, the suffering of women and

children, abandonment, ruin, destruction, and "great wants and miseries"--Virginians appealed to the Crown on the basis of both natural and religious law, believing that involuntary poverty demanded equity and charity.<sup>56</sup> Virginians as well as Englishmen also knew that private necessity could readily evolve into public necessity.<sup>57</sup> Even if Governor Berkeley in his A Discourse and View of Virginia (1663)--bemoaning the Navigation Acts that were driving Virginians to the point where "all our sweat and labour...will hardly procure us course clothes to keep us from the extremities of heat and cold"--could be said to speak for the other planters when he claimed that "yet if these pressures of [sic] us did advance the Customs, or benefit the Nation, we should not repine," he, no less than any other Virginian, could scarcely think of a situation where their poverty would conduce to the common good.<sup>58</sup>

Poverty was the most frequent specific explanation given for any action or non-action in the seventeenth century and was used at one time or another to justify almost every type of action or non-action by Virginians. In 1622, Captain Francis West and other "auncient Planters and Adventurers on the behalf of themselves and the rest of your poore distressed Subjects of that Plantation" petitioned the king complaining that after freight and customs,

tobacco is of noe value, whereby they are like to perish, and soe hopefull a Plantation will presently sinck and become of noe use at all, unlesse your Majestie out of your gracious and royall care of all



your Subjects and of all the parte of your Dominions wilbee graciously pleased to take them into your immediate care and proteccion, to make the Tobacco your owne commoditie, to take a convenient proportion yearely from the Colonies, at a reasonable price.<sup>59</sup>

Similar arguments were used to justify the remittance or reduction of tobacco duties (1624, 1679, 1713); a grant to Virginia of the sole rights of tobacco importation into England (1624); the repeal of tobacco importation monopolies granted by the king to private individuals (1625, 1628, 1638); the imposition of a set price for tobacco by the colony (1632); opposition to central tobacco warehouses (1638); the removal of restrictions on tobacco production (1638, 1663); stricter controls on the quantity and quality of tobacco production (1640, 1663, 1665, 1666, 1680, 1681, 1686); free trade with all English ports (1645); elimination of tobacco as a circulating medium (1645); restrictions on civil law suits (1646, 1658); encouragement of the trade with the Dutch (1647); establishment of county markets (1656); prohibition of the importation of unnecessary commodities (1661); timetables for debt payment (1666); setting up public manufactures (1666); inability to pay the cost of defense against the Dutch or Indians (1667, 1672, 1673, 1679); promotion of town development (1680); opposition to adjournment of the Assembly (1682); prohibition of the exportation of certain raw materials and semi-finished manufactures (1682); and opposition to the removal to Eng-

land of jurisdiction over certain types of court cases (1684).<sup>60</sup>

The idea that private necessity could in some cases obviate the law was recognized in common law and sometimes explicitly incorporated into statute law. At a mundane level, the Assembly regularly renewed a law that condemned breaking the Sabbath except where exempted by "works of necessity."<sup>61</sup> But necessity also played a role in the high-stakes rhetoric of rebellion. During the Interregnum, Berkeley, Council, and Assembly defended themselves against Parliamentary charges as "Rebells and Traitors," claiming "our judgments and industry, have been long solely and necessarily employed in providing against the necessities of our poore families, and by Consequence should not presume that any Act or Transaction of ours could be worthy the publique view" and hoping for "charitable and abler judgments."<sup>62</sup> In 1676, Nathaniel Bacon turned the tables on Berkeley, claiming the "necessity" of the "cominality" to justify his rebellion.<sup>63</sup>

#### Liberties and the Common Good

The Virginia colonists, as true Englishmen, were staunch defenders of their liberties. With rigid Company controls in the earliest years fresh in their minds, colonists in the 1620s and 1630s were highly suspicious of any outside attempts at infringement and the suspicions persis-

ted into later decades.<sup>64</sup> One of the most important liberties, stated frequently in no uncertain terms, was the free benefit and use of their labor and property that Virginians traced to the arrival of Sir George Yeardley and the "Great Charter" of November 1618 by which "free libertie was given to all men to make choice of their dividents of lande and, as their abilities and meanes would permitt, to possesse and plant uppon them."<sup>65</sup> Governor Harvey, like later Virginians, claimed "the same freedome of his Majestie's other subjects to seek our best marquett."<sup>66</sup> In contrast to Commonwealth England, in Virginia (declared the Assembly in 1651) "the Gates of wealth and Honour are shut on no man, and...there is not here an Arbitrary hand that dares to touch the substance of either poore or rich."

Such ideas, however, did not turn these Virginians into laissez-faire liberals. The Grand Assembly nominally respected the right of individuals to do what they would with their property or labor and was always constrained to justify any incursion into such liberties in acts of Assembly, but liberties always took second place to the common good of the colony with its demand for limits on the individual pursuit of wealth.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, the Crown and its representatives recognized "the Freedome and...the benefit of your owne Trade and Labours" when such freedoms did not conflict with Crown revenues and customs, "the Glory of God, the Honour of his most sacred Majestie..., [the] publique Good,

and long lasting welfare" of the colony.<sup>68</sup> Universal support in the colonies for a double standard which prohibited tobacco production by English farmers can only be understood in terms of the good of the entire English empire.<sup>69</sup> The inferior status of liberties was only confused by the central (if ambiguous) role that liberties played in the definition of the common good, which led sometimes to situations where the common good demanded the sacrifice of one's liberties in times of crises in order to preserve those very liberties in the long run.<sup>70</sup>

In "the politics of empire" the question was not whether liberties should be regulated for the common good, but who was to decide the common good and thus who was to regulate liberties.<sup>71</sup> Thus, on the basis of prudence and local knowledge, the Assembly, while imposing its own constraints, opposed Crown efforts to regulate tobacco planting, tending, and curing which would reduce the quality and quantity of tobacco, lead to poverty, and take away precious time from the development of other staples.<sup>72</sup> And, as in any political situation, different groups inevitably held different images of the common good. Differences arose between English and provincial mercantilist policies, wonderfully captured in the writings of Sir William Berkeley, Robert Beverley, and other less articulate Virginians.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, at times intracolonial divisions emerged when the Burgesses, Council,



and Governor challenged each other's concept of the common good.<sup>74</sup>

The common good demanded both the imposition and removal of constraints on liberty. While some laws claimed that constraints on tobacco production (and the promise of higher tobacco prices) would attract the virtuous and the industrious to the colony, other laws claimed that only "the free benefitt & use of our comodity" would attract such citizens.<sup>75</sup> Just as condemnations of avaricious merchants and particular enslaving interests warranted the need for restrictions on trade, such criticisms likewise justified free trade to force competition between merchants.<sup>76</sup> When restrictions on forestalling and engrossing proved contrary to the common good (for example, as inhibiting the servant trade by prohibiting a just reward for the speculative risk resulting from seasoning), trade restrictions were removed.<sup>77</sup> Citing the precedent of other countries with land shortages (leading to frequent grain shortages) which justified regulation of the corn trade, the Assembly declared in 1632 that since Virginia possessed abundant land, she should maintain free trade in corn--although like good mercantilists they continued to enforce production minima, regulate import and export prices, and prohibit grain exports following poor harvests.<sup>78</sup> Sometimes the Assembly justified removal of constraints based on the identical "common good" argument they had used to justify the original constraints.

Indeed, within the span of a year, the Assembly justified both the passage and the repeal of an act for the creation of markets on the basis of inconvenience. Other times they treated the reinstitution of liberties more subtly than the imposition of constraints, as de facto rather than de jure liberties due to the lack of enforcement or failure to clarify ambiguous laws.<sup>79</sup>

Undoubtedly the most important aspect of Virginia liberties revolved around tobacco, as they so often noted, their sole commodity and "cheefest releefe and subsistence."<sup>80</sup> With regard to tobacco planting, Virginians well understood liberty to mean the freedom to plant, tend, and market whatever quantity and quality of the commodity the planter chose: "the free benefitt & use of our comodity" with "every one permetted to make the best he can of his owne comodity."<sup>81</sup> These Virginians equally well understood that such unconstrained behavior normally proved contrary to the common good since the tobacco market to some degree was, in our terms, a zero-sum economy, in which one household's increased production meant decreased incomes for all other households because of the inelastic demand for tobacco (at least in the short-run).

Nevertheless, by the late 1630s, after numerous attempts at mercantilist control, Virginians were clearly more and more coming to accept liberty of planting as most consistent with the commonweal, although in a fashion that

could hardly be called unilinear and could at best be called "confused" from a modern perspective. With rising competition from unconstrained tobacco production in the West Indies and Maryland, simple justice demanded that either all his Majesty's colonists had to conform to corporate restrictions on tobacco quality and quantity or all should be granted equal liberty.<sup>82</sup> Similar arguments for liberty of planting appeared from the 1630s to the 1690s, but were especially prominent in the 1660s. In 1662, the Burgesses dismissed "abridgment of any man's endeavours or confining him to any sett number of plants" while Maryland remained a distinct government as "cleerly inconsistant with the being of the country." Yet, engaging in a bit of casuistry in order to gain an advantage over Maryland, they justified a stint after July 10 as consistent with the common good. The next year Edmund Scarborough challenged the proposed stint on the grounds that "the people of Maryland have privilege to plant as long as they please, soe they having such a privilege and we bound up it will be a great benefit to them and a ruin to us." The Burgesses finally relented in 1664, "not thinking fitt to lay a restriction upon this govt while they [Maryland] have soe greate a liberty."<sup>83</sup>

Since the Crown never showed much interest in either regulating or enforcing such restrictions, the Assembly inevitably gave up what Edmund Morgan calls the attempt "to legislate the boom back into existence."<sup>84</sup> Not that recog-

nition of liberty of planting came easily, for with every crisis of a tobacco glut and lower prices came resurgent echoes of the corporate mentality and demands for constraints, only to succumb to liberty with the failure to draw all the other tobacco-producing colonies into the scheme.<sup>85</sup> In the late seventeenth century the Assembly passed a number of bills stinting tobacco production on the basis of the necessity of the planters, only to turn around and repeal the laws as leading to even further poverty.<sup>86</sup> In much the same fashion, the Assembly approached the Indian trade, in 1659 grudgingly passing an act acknowledging the necessity of allowing the trade of arms for furs in order to compete with other colonies in the Indian fur trade, only to repeal the act the next year.<sup>87</sup> Market pressures forced planters to compete in a world beyond their power to legislate, and perhaps provided the major reason for the vehemence with which they complained about the governments of Maryland and North Carolina.<sup>88</sup>

The espousal of liberty to plant did not subvert the traditional relationship to the common good. The open declaration of liberty to plant as a principle freed from considerations of Crown and Commonwealth remained as seditious in the 1690s as it did on that day in 1635 when Samuel Mathews, John Utie, and William Pierce "opposed themselves very saucely" against Governor Harvey's "proposition for the Tobacco Contract, sayeing that his Majestie could not re-



strayne them in Virginia from Planting upon their owne Land what they pleased," with Pierce adding "that the Officers which went to repressse the Tobacco planting in England were well beaten for their labour."<sup>89</sup> However twisted by Harvey, this anecdote readily demonstrates why naked liberty never flourished in the seventeenth century. Virginians, like all Englishmen, understood that proclaiming liberty as the ultimate ideal in defiance of the "Royall pleasure" or acts of Parliament or Assembly was highly seditious.<sup>90</sup> For the record, when the 1638 Assembly attempted to sway the Crown to remove or lessen tobacco restrictions they mentioned nothing about liberty to plant, justifying the act rather on the dubiousness of the compliance of other plantations and on the common good.<sup>91</sup>

The de jure acceptance of liberty of planting in the late 1630s and early 1640s as most consistent with the common good was hardly straightforward, following the ups and downs of Sir John Harvey's career and the tobacco market. After the "thrusting out" of Harvey, the mutinous Assembly led by Samuel Mathews and others passed, in 1636, the first law for "planting tobacco without restraint." Upon the return of Harvey in 1637 the law was either repealed or modified by a bill for "regulating Tobacco." In 1638 the Assembly broke with Governor Harvey and his Council by openly opposing restrictions on tobacco production. On the other hand, under Governor Wyatt, the 1639/40 Assembly

passed undoubtedly the most heavily mercantilist tobacco act of the seventeenth century.<sup>92</sup> Finally, with the March 1642/3 Assembly, the first under Governor William Berkeley, freedom to plant became the law of the land. When this Assembly began its major revision of earlier laws, they repealed all earlier acts and significantly failed to pass any new acts on tobacco price, marketing, quality, or quantity.<sup>93</sup> Thus with a remarkable lack of fanfare did the government establish the policy of liberty of one's commodity, not with any positive step of commission with elaborate justification in defense of English liberties, but by the subtle act of omission.<sup>94</sup>

Over the course of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century the Assembly went through phases of tightening restrictions on tobacco and never ceased to desire some intercolonial scheme to regulate production, and colonial leaders never stopped condemning the dependence on tobacco.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, after the 1642/3 Assembly, tobacco production operated relatively free from constraints until the imposition of the Tobacco Inspection acts of the eighteenth century.<sup>96</sup> The Assembly went through brief phases (1656-63, 1686-96) of attempting to restrict planting after a certain date, but ultimately abandoned these schemes with the refusal of Maryland and/or North Carolina to cooperate.<sup>97</sup> A similar sporadic "liberalization" appeared in other aspects of the economy throughout the seventeenth century.

By the mid-seventeenth century, restrictions on the Indian fur trade, merchant profits, forestalling, and engrossing gradually eroded, perhaps reflecting the increasing dominance of the planter-merchant.<sup>98</sup>

However, in none of these cases can one say that liberties superseded the common good. Whether reflecting grudging acceptance of the world market or the particular interests of merchant-planters, liberties were permitted only insofar as they contributed to or were at least non-detrimental to the common good. Furthermore, Virginians--like early seventeenth-century moderate Parliamentarians and more conservative Englishmen after the Restoration--never adopted the new English language of interests, maintaining instead the traditional language of the commonwealth ideology.<sup>99</sup> The major ideological challenge to this conservative consensus came with Nathaniel Bacon's inflammatory appeals to the "commonality." But even here one can agree with Bertram Wyatt-Brown that Bacon's rhetoric rested, like that of latter day Southern populists, more on traditional concepts of honor and justice than on liberalism.<sup>100</sup> In the complaints collected by the Commissioners after the rebellion, the people, in complaining about the injustice of taxation, sometimes defined the common good in terms of the welfare of families and posterity, but such rhetoric was hardly radical when interpreted in terms of traditional necessity.<sup>101</sup> Wherever one looks in the records of seventeenth-century

Virginia, one can find scant evidence of the positive acceptance of interest politics on ethical grounds.<sup>102</sup>

Evidence of constraints on liberties in the pursuit of wealth do not necessarily confirm the dominance of a particular economic or political ethic. Regulations in themselves do not necessarily contradict chrematistics since they can simply serve to channel economic behavior rather than as an overall ethical limitation. Indeed, that the infinite pursuit of wealth within the context of an ever-expanding household was permissible, never discouraged, and even positively encouraged in colonial Virginia might suggest chrematistics. Similarly, such constraints can be made consistent with economic and political liberalism if justified on the basis that limitless acquisition interfered with the liberties of others and the harm done to individual interests outweighed the benefits. But seventeenth-century Virginians simply never thought in such a manner. Immersed in a world of liberties, common good, competency, justice, and necessity, they could not conceive of the positive encouragement of the unlimited pursuit of wealth--so closely associated with the sin of avarice--as a good in itself.

#### The Limits of the Normative Ideal

What stands out most clearly in both England and Virginia is the dynamism and malleability of the traditional language when applied to any particular policy. Indeed, one



might say that seemingly anything could be and was justified within the context of the common good. Clearly, to understand the mind (let alone to understand the relationship between mind and behavior) of these Englishmen we need to move beyond the normative ideal.

No matter how much one analyzes the ethics of a particular time and place, the ultimate question is: What do these ethics have to do with the way people actually thought and behaved? Do ethics merely serve as hypocritical rhetoric? Post-hoc rationalizations? Unconscious self-deception? De facto acknowledgment of man's propensity to behave contrary to such ethics? Constraints on behavior only to the degree they are backed by institutions and sanctions? A reflection of deeply shared beliefs which fundamentally guide behavior? Or something else altogether? Contemporaries readily acknowledged that de jure prescriptions frequently differed from de facto behavior. For example, although many writers stressed the natural right to steal food in times of necessity, they contrasted this right with the actual capital punishment meted out to thieves regardless of their condition.<sup>103</sup>

Furthermore, what did such ideas, expressed by the intellectual elite, have to do with the common people? Although commonwealth ideology--with its central values of competency, justice, liberty, necessity, and the commonweal--shared a close affinity with the honor and gentility

stressed by cultural and intellectual historians and the moral economy and artisanal republicanism attributed by E. P. Thompson and his followers to the English and American working classes, we should not remain content with simply presuming a priori the nature of the relationship between ethics and behavior.<sup>104</sup> Although we should not go to the opposite extreme of cynically dismissing normative ideals, clearly before understanding the role of such ideals in the lives of seventeenth-century Englishmen on either side of the Atlantic we need to look beyond the normative.

In essence, we return to the question at the heart of the new social history, the challenge that Darrett B. Rutman raised to Perry Miller's Puritans: How can one reconcile such traditional ideals with the modern behavior that historians believe these Virginians actually exhibited?<sup>105</sup> For all the positive good that they did by making the discipline more theoretically and empirically rigorous, the new social historians hardly dented the age-old mind-behavior problem, tending to sidestep the whole issue of mind to focus solely on behavior. Both social and intellectual historians quickly got the message that any solution required more than blindly accepting the materialist position of ignoring formal ideas as epiphenomena or the idealist position of unproblematically equating formal ideas with behavior--a recognition quite apparent in such diverse developments in the 1960s and 1970s as Rutman's own American Puritanism, Robert F. Berk-

hofer, Jr.'s "behavioral approach" to history, James A. Henretta's mentalité, and the popularization of the ideas of anthropologist Clifford Geertz within mainstream historiography.<sup>106</sup> But if seventeenth-century Virginia may serve as an example, early American historians continue to misconstrue the mind-behavior problem at several levels of analysis: missing the subtleties of expressed ideals, ignoring or distorting contemporary conceptions about human behavior, disregarding representative actual behavior, and finally failing to incorporate these different levels into a coherent synthesis. This failure has left seventeenth-century Virginia historiography stuck in the Wertenbaker-Bruce framework of dichotomous ideals and behavior.

In particular, historians have paid little attention to what Berkhofer calls one of the most fatal, persistent problems in modern historiography: the failure to explicitly differentiate between "ideal" and "operative" values and between "expected" and "actual" behavior. Obsessed with ideal values and actual behavior, historians have paid little attention to operative values or expected behavior.<sup>107</sup> The observation gives us our direction, and in the next chapter we will shift from the ideal to the operative, from the way seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britons (or at least their more literate members) believed men should behave to the way they believed men actually did behave.

## Notes

1. Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner's, 1958) 55-6, 173-4; Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1956) 99-140. On Weber, cf. Reinhold Niebuhr, The Children of Light and The Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defense (New York: Scribner's, 1960) 51-2; C. Vann Woodward, "The Southern Ethic in a Puritan World," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 25 (1968): 354-6.

2. As far as I have determined, only Weber, Miller, Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, Morris Talpalar, David Bertelson, and William H. Swatos even attempt to analyze the seventeenth-century Chesapeake within the transition-to-capitalism debate and apart from Swatos only superficially. See Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "Institutions and the Law of Slavery: The Dynamics of Unopposed Capitalism," AQ 9 (1957): 3-21; Morris Talpalar, The Sociology of Colonial Virginia (New York: Philosophical Library, 1960); David Bertelson, The Lazy South (New York: Oxford UP, 1967); Stanley Elkins, Slavery, 3rd ed. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1976) 43-7; William H. Swatos, Jr., Mediating Capitalism and Slavery: A Neo-Weberian Interpretation of Religion and Honor in the Old South (Tampa, FL: Dept. of Religious Studies, U of South Florida, 1987); Joyce Appleby, "A Different Kind of Independence: The Postwar Restructuring of the Historical Study of Early America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 50 (1993): 253-4.

3. Clarence L. ver Steeg, The Formative Years 1607-1763 (New York: Hill, 1964) 92, 99n37.

4. William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809-23) 1: 163.

5. Hening 2: 303.

6. See Hening 1: 163, 208, 337, 350, 488; Hening 2: 179, 209-10, 241-2, 272, 303, 311; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1658/59 (Richmond: n.p., 1915) 58. See also Chapter 5 on the rhetoric of gentility. For New England and colonial America in general, see Max Savelle, Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind (New York: Knopf, 1948) 190; Peter N. Carroll, Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier 1629-1700 (New York: Columbia



UP, 1969) 131-3; Crowley 48-50, 63-5, 96-124; Janet Ann Riesman, "The Origins of American Political Economy, 1690-1781," 2 vols., diss., Brown U, 1983.

7. E. A. J. Johnson, American Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century (London: King, 1932) 11, 13-32, 137-55; Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia UP, 1946) 20-1, 84-9; Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization, 5 vols. (New York: Viking, 1946-59) 1: 14-59; C. Robert Haywood, "The Influence of Mercantilism on Social Attitudes in the South, 1700-1763," Journal of the History of Ideas 20 (1959): 578; Gabriel Kolko, "Max Weber on America: Theory and Evidence," History and Theory 1 (1961): 248-9; John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Seventeenth-Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1974) 29-30, 142-65; J.E. Crowley, This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974) 86-9; J. R. T. Hughes, Social Control in the Colonial Economy (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1976).

8. Morris 5-21, 30, 55-90; Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, The First Americans 1607-1690 (New York: Macmillan, 1927) 73-4, 262. On keeping at trades, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 17; Hening 1: 208; Hening 2: 268-9; Morris 30. On surveyors, see Hening 1: 457; 2: 235. On surgeons and physicians, see Hening 1: 316, 450; 2: 109-10; 3: 103. On attorneys, see Hening 1: 275-6, 302, 313, 349, 482-3, 495; A. G. Roeber, Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1680-1810 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1981) 41-53. On millers, see Hening 1: 301, 347-8, 485; 2: 127, 242, 286; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60-1693 (Richmond: n.p., 1914) 33. On tavern keepers and liquor retailers, see Hening 1: 287, 319, 300, 489-90, 521-2; 2: 19-20, 112-3, 234, 263, 268-9, 287-8, 361-2, 393-4; 3: 44-5; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 92-3. On shippers, see Hening 1: 216-7, 225. On smiths, see Hening 2: 11. On merchant profits, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 11; Hening 1: 225. On engrossing and forestalling, see Hening 1: 150-1, 166, 172, 190-2, 194-5, 217, 245, 412. On exporting and importing, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 13; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 60; Hening 1: 174, 218-9, 227, 307, 463, 488, 519; 2: 18, 124-5, 127-8, 179, 185, 216, 267, 271, 482-3, 493. On self-sufficiency, see Hening 2: 306-7; E. Johnson, American 20. On Sabbatarianism, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 14; Hening 1: 213, 144, 155, 180, 261, 434; 2: 48; 3: 71-5, 168-11; George and George 139-40, esp. 140n69; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: Norton, 1975) 151; Winton U. Solberg, Redeem the Time: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America (Cambridge:

Harvard UP, 1977) 85-106; Carl Bridenbaugh, Jamestown 1544-1699 (New York: Oxford UP, 1980) 65. In many ways the colonial frontier served as more a traditionalizing than a modernizing influence. See E. Johnson, American 16-8, 269-70.

9. Robert M. Bliss, Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990) 30-2.

10. Bruce, Economic History 1: 389-95, 401-7; L. C. Gray, "The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco," Agricultural History 2 (1928): 23-34; Morris 88; Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf: Tobacco Through the Centuries (Boston: Little, 1952) 95-6, 110-4, 164-5; Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1960) 1:60, 132-3, 191, 325n60; Rainbolt 36; Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585-1763, 3 vols. (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1978) 2: 948-9.

11. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 8, 11, 46, 50, 55, 58-9, 105; Hening 1: 126, 134, 162-3, 188-90, 206, 210, 225-6; 2: 222, 224-5. See also "Aspinwall Papers," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th ser. 9 (1871): 9n.

12. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 11; Hening 1: 204, 211-2.

13. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 46-7; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 264, 473, 476; Hening 1: 130, 135, 152, 164-5, 188-90, 204-6, 212, 399, 478, 488, 524; 2: 119-20, 209-10, 445-6; 3: 33-5.

14. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 57, 62; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 29; Hening 1: 116, 163, 188, 399; 2: 119.

15. On household restrictions, see John Rolf, "Virginia in 1616," Virginia: Four Personal Narratives (New York: Arno, 1972) 108; McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 17; Hening 1: 130, 141-2, 152, 164, 188-90, 205, 212, 224-5, 228. On cessation, see McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 36, 38; Hening 2: 224-6, 229-32. On stints on planting or replanting, see Hening 1: 488; 2: 32, 119, 190-1, 200; 3: 34-5; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 264-5, 306-7, 311, 473, 476.

16. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 47; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 30, 311; Hening 1: 165, 179-80, 204, 209-10, 216, 224-5, 262, 399, 419, 521-2, 540; 2: 268-9, 445-6, 498; 3: 44-5. For similar language in contemporaneous England, see J. A. W. Gunn, Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century (London: Routledge, 1969) 20-1; Stephen D. White, Sir Edward Coke and 'The Grievances of the

Commonwealth, ' 1621-1628 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 19, 80.

17. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 46, 58, 60, 77-8; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 322-3; Hening 1: 536.

18. Hening 2: 117-8; Bridenbaugh 55; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984) 130-1. Earlier state-ments stress justice. See Hening 1: 255, 440.

19. See, e.g., Hening 1: 172; 2: 224-6; McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 76-7; Alexander Spotswood, The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, ed. R. A. Brock, 2 vols. (Richmond, 1882) 2: 14, 216. On the transference of English law to Virginia in general, see Philip Alexander Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (New York: Putnam's, 1910) 1: 461-707; George Lewis Chumbley, Colonial Justice in Virginia: The Development of a Judicial System, Typical Laws and Cases of the Period (Richmond: Dietz, 1938); Warren M. Billings, "The Transfer of English Law to Virginia, 1606-50," The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic and America 1480-1650, eds. K. R. Andrews et al. (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1979) 215-44.

20. Hening 1: 536; 2: 306.

121. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 74; Hening 1: 233, 359-61; "The Randolph Manuscript," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 18 (1910): 134-5.

22. An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, ed. Louis B. Wright (1945; New York: Arno, 1972) 23.

23. See, e.g., "Instructions to Berkeley, 1642," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 2 (1895): 281-2, 288.

24. Billings, "Transfer" 215-9. For similar views in colonial New England from Winthrop to Mather, see E. Johnson, American 238.

25. "Acts, Orders and Resolutions of the General Assembly of Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 23 (1915): 250.

26. Hening 1: 337; 2: 311-4; "Virginia in 1676-77," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 21 (1913): 244.

27. "Virginia in 1666-1667," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 21 (1913): 40.



28. Hening 2: 201, 215; Spotswood 2: 98. On similar English attitudes, see David Harris Sacks, "Parliament, Liberty, and the Commonweal," Parliament and Liberty from the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War, ed. J. H. Hexter (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992) 99.

29. On cost of maintenance, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 45-6; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 229. On alternative staples, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 49, 55, 123; Hening 1: 204, 209-10, 224-5; 2: 190-1, 224-6, 221-2, 224-6. Rainbolt contrasts the Virginia emphasis on alternative staples with the frank Maryland acknowledgment that cessation served strictly as a temporary expedient to increase tobacco prices. See Rainbolt 36, 64. On merchants, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 46. See also Dorfman 1: 135.

30. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 51, 123.

31. See, e.g., McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 145-6. See further Chapter 5, nn. 82-3.

32. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 58.

33. Hening 2: 224-6.

34. McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 322-3; An Essay on Bulk Tobacco, History of the Dividing Line, and Other Tracts, by William Byrd (Richmond, 1866) 140-58; Rainbolt 128-9.

35. Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols., (Washington: GPO, 1906-35) 4: 561-2; William Berkeley, A Discourse and View of Virginia (London, 1662) 6-7; Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, "Operation Checkmate: the Birth and Death of a Virginia Blueprint for Progress 1660-1676," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 24 (1967): 45-6.

36. Kingsbury 4: 453; McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 46, 56, 57-8.

37. Rolf 111-2; "Aspinwall Papers" 7; Kingsbury 4: 37; Morgan Godwyn, Trade Preferr'd Before Religion (London, 1685) 6; Morgan, American Slavery 123. Some scholars have interpreted such charges as evidence of a de facto chrematistic ethic, but the whole body of evidence suggests no such conclusion because one can find no positive defence of either avarice or chrematistics, only condemnations and denials of such covetous behavior. See, e.g., T. H. Breen, "George Donne's 'Virginia Reviewed': A 1638 Plan to Reform Colonial Society," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 30 (1973): 451-2. See also Chapter 5. For examples of denials, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 24; Hening 1: 125, 173. At



the more general level of seventeenth-century American thought, see E. Johnson, American 81-100.

38. On attorneys, see Hening 1: 302. On surgeons and physicians, see Hening 1: 316; 2: 109-10. See also Kingsbury 3: 522. Crowley attributes the singling out of such professions to the suspicion that they could possibly grow rich while the rest of the planter community grew poor. See Crowley 87-8.

39. See, e.g., McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 50.

40. For other seventeenth-century colonies, see E. Johnson, American 81-100, 103, 227; Carroll 15, 55. See further Chapter 5.

41. Stanley Pargellis, ed., "An Account of the Indians in Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 16 (1959): 241-2.

42. William Fitzhugh, William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents, ed. Richard Beale Davis (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1963) 174.

43. Leonard 58.

44. Hening 2: 118.

45. Hening 2: 235. See further Chapter 5.

46. Grace L. Chickering, "Founders of an Oligarchy: The Virginia Council, 1692-1722," Power and Status: Officeholding in Colonial America, ed. Bruce C. Daniels (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1986) 256.

47. Pierre Marambaud, William Byrd of Westover, 1674-1744 (Charlottesville, UP of Virginia, 1971) 258; Alden T. Vaughan, "The Evolution of Virginia History: Early Historians of the First Colony," Perspectives on Early American History: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Morris, eds. Alden T. Vaughan and George Athan Billias (New York: Harper, 1973) 15.

48. John Hammond, Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia, and Mary-land, Tracts and Other Papers, comp. Peter Force, Vol. 3, No. 14 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947) 17-8; Wertenbaker, First Americans 88; Rainbolt 13-4; Davis 3: 1559. One exception is Peter Arundle who in 1622 claimed "any laborious honest man may in a shorte time become ritche in this Country." See Kingsbury 3: 589. For New England references, see Carroll 15, 55.

49. Hamor 19, 24; Rolf 108-11.

50. Hammond 14; Bertelson 63-5.

51. Hammond 12; Virginia's Cure 7, 10; George Alsop, A Character of the Province of Maryland (New York, 1869) 57; James Curtis Ballagh, White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia (Baltimore, 1895) 71; Wertenbaker, First Americans 273-82; Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1935) 185; Charles H. George and Katherine George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation 1570-1640 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1961) 139-42; John Dunn, The Political Thought of John Locke: An Historical Account of the Argument of the 'Two Treatises of Government' (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969) 223-5, 252; Nancy Struna, "Puritans and Sort: The Irrecoverable Tide of Change," Journal of Sport History 4 (1977): 1-21; David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford UP, 1989) 146-51.

52. Henning 1: 231, 397; Deuel Pead, "A Sermon Preached at James City in Virginia the 23d of April 1686," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 17 (1960): 392; James Blair, Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount, 2nd ed. (London, 1740), qtd. in Bertelson 111-2. Numerous comments vaguely suggest that planters were earning more than competent estates, with no criticism intended. For example, Col. Robert Quarry reported in 1705 that "'In every river there are from ten to thirty men who by trade and industry have gotten very competent estates.'" Qtd. in Wertenbaker, First Americans 27. However, traditional English disparagement of colonial parvenus persisted among the colonists themselves throughout the seventeenth century and played a central role in Bacon's Rebellion, suggesting social limits to the acquisition of wealth. See Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Patriot and Plebeian in Virginia (1910; New York: Russell, 1959) 180; Crowley 4, 81-2; Bridenbaugh 94-6. See also Chapter 5.

53. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 76.

54. The only positive statement of the state of the tobacco economy that I can find, apart from some early ambiguous statements about the poverty of former years, comes not until 1719. See "Charges against Spotswood," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1897): 352, 355. See further citations in the section on the rhetoric of poverty in Chapter 5.

55. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 21-37, 43; "Aspinwall Papers" 77-8; Henning 1: 231. Cf. "Attacks by the Dutch on

the Virginia Fleet in Hampton Roads in 1667," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1897): 239.

56. Kingsbury 4: 107; Hening 1: 346; 2: 259-60; Berkeley, Discourse 5-8; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 49, 60; Spotswood 2: 96. See also Savelle 201-4; Morton 1: 195, 231, 299-302, 339, 396; Leonard 62-6; Bridenbaugh 85. On the transference to Virginia of English poor law traditions, see Howard Mackey, "The Operation of the English Old Poor Law in Colonial Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 73 (1965): 29-40; Virginia Bernhard, "Poverty and the Social Order in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 85 (1977): 141-55; Peter N. Miller, Defining the Common Good: Empire, Religion and Philosophy in Eighteenth-Century Britain (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 80-3.

57. Hening 2: 225.

58. Berkeley, Discourse 7.

59. Kingsbury 3: 580-1.

60. Kingsbury 4: 101; McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 26, 45, 55, 74, 124, 60; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 35, 58-9, 118, 130-1, 137, 145-6, 158-9, 229; Hening 1: 224-5, 296, 308, 331, 412, 451; 2: 18, 200-1, 221-2, 224-6, 232, 238-9; 2: 493; 3: 34-5.

61. See n. 8 above. See also Aubrey C. Land, ed., Bases of the Plantation Society (Columbia, SC: U of South Carolina P, 1969) 241.

62. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 76.

63. "Aspinwall Papers" 175; "Narrative of Bacon's Rebellion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1896): 125. See further Chapter 5.

64. Bliss 30-1.

65. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 36, 74. This charter was obviously considered part of the law throughout the seventeenth century since such provisions as the headright grant were widely accepted yet never included as part of an act of assembly.

66. "Virginia in 1632-33-34," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 8 (1900): 150.

67. Hening 2: 232, 445-6. Rainbolt makes a case for the differential class basis of these principles: liberties for the rich and constraints for the poor. See Rainbolt 37, 82-3. However, the class bias does not rest in the legal and ethical concepts of liberties and constraints, which are applicable to all men alike, but rather in the traditional concepts of station, competency, and the politics of defining the common good with their inherent class bias.
68. McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 90-3.
69. See Chapter 5.
70. See, e.g., Hening 2: 311-4.
71. Bliss 30-2; P. Miller, Defining 31, 42. For parallels in classical Greek thought, see Paul A. Rahe, Republic Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1992) 26, 55. While historians of economic thought emphasize similar constraints in early New England and Virginia, most intellectual historians highlight the greater emphasis on liberties in the evolution of Virginia society. However, the evidentiary basis for both views is fairly weak. See, e.g., Savelle 200-2; Davis 3: 1586-7.
72. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 46-7, 62. On the place of local knowledge in the English theory of the commonwealth, see Sacks 89-90.
73. Berkeley, Discourse; Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1947); Harold Lee Hitchens, "Sir William Berkeley, Virginian Economist," William and Mary Quarterly 2nd ser. 18 (1938): 158-73; Savelle 189; Leonard 44-74.
74. See, e.g., McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 57-65; Bliss 32. See further Chapter 5.
75. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 59-60.
76. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 58-60, 76; Hening 1: 216-7, 296, 414, 397, 476; 2: 226. Frequently the Assembly registered its opposition to any company or monopoly by characterizing the end of the Virginia Company years as riven with factions and "the projects of vaine men," "such men as respect only their private ends & inordinate lucre and gaine," and "avaritious persons, whose sickle hath bin ever long in our harvest allreadye." See McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 49-50, 121-2, 74, 75-8. As E. A. J. Johnson noted, the suspicion of commerce in the American colonies was not a reaction



to inherent evil, but republican fears of corruption of particular individuals or groups. See E. Johnson, American 140-1.

77. Hening 1: 245.

78. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 24; Hening 1: 125, 173, 197, 227, 347; 2: 261-2, 338-9, 361; 3: 200-1. On production minima, see McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 10; Hening 1: 125-6, 152, 166, 173, 190, 197, 246-7, 344, 419, 481; 2: 123; Rolf 108; Morton 132-3; Morgan, American Slavery 136.

79. Hening 1: 397, 412. In 1689 the Crown reinstituted the act for licensing attorneys on the same basis of "inconvenience" that the Assembly had use to justify the repeal of the act in 1682. See Hening 3: 498; "The Randolph Manuscript," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 18 (1910): 371-2.

80. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 58.

81. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 59; Hening 2: 287.

82. "Aspinwall Papers" 77; McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 58-60, 64; "Virginia in 1637-38," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (1902): 409-10. At the same time, if individuals were not under the same government, they should not enjoy the same liberty of citizens to the detriment of the common good. See Hening 2: 445-6.

83. Hening 2: 119, 201, 209-10. Cf. McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 306-7.

84. Morgan, American Slavery 134-5.

85. On later similar tensions with Maryland and North Carolina, see Hening 2: 201, 209-10, 221-2, 224-6; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 29, 306-7, 311; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1695-1696, 1696-1697, 1698, 1699, 1700-1702 (Richmond: n.p., 1913) 67, 101. See also Rainbolt 56-7. For the American colonies in general, see Crowley 90.

86. McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 306-7; Hening 3: 142.

87. Hening 1: 525; Jon Kukla, "Some Acts Not in Hening's Statutes: The Acts of Assembly, October 1660," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (1975): 84.

88. "Virginia in 1629 and 1630," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 7 (1900): 373-4; "Virginia in 1632-33-34" 160-1; "Aspinwall Papers" 107; "Virginia in 1676 and

1665-1666," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 20 (1912): 358; "The Randolph Manuscript," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 19 (1911): 154.

89. "Virginia in 1636," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (1901): 34-5. Interestingly, George Sandys in 1623, after criticizing the leading settlers as "no more then Ciphers" who took no responsibility for public concerns, acclaimed this same William Pierce as a man who "refuses no labour, nor stick at anie expences that may aduantage the publique," "of a Capacitie that is not to bee expected in a man of his breeding." See Kingsbury 4: 110-1. Cf. Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1959) 90-1; Bertelson 69-72.

90. "Causes of Discontent in Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 2 (1894): 170; "Aspinwall Papers" 179-80. See also Sacks 87.

91. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 58. For the background to these tensions, see J. Mills Thornton III, "The Thrusting Out of Governor Harvey: A Seventeenth-Century Rebellion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 78 (1968): 11-26.

92. McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 57-65; Hening 1: 224-6; "Acts of the General Assembly, Jan. 6, 1639-40," William and Mary Quarterly 2nd ser. 4 (1924): 17-33; "Virginia in 1639-40," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 13 (1906): 381; "The Virginia Assembly of 1641," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (1901): 56-8. We know little more than the titles of the 1636 and 1637 acts and that they were positively repealed in the assembly of January 1641.

93. Hening 1: 238-82. It seems possible but unlikely that tobacco restrictions were explicitly repealed earlier between Jan 1639/40 and Mar 1642/3.

94. Amazingly, historians have completely missed this important shift in official economic policy. Although Thornton recognizes the importance of property in planter behavior, he refers solely to secure possession of title rather than liberties and apart from a brief mention of opposition to the tobacco contract stresses solely the problem of land rather than tobacco production. Rainbolt assumes earlier restrictions on number of plants and leaves were simply supplemented in the 1650s by introduction of the "stint." See Rainbolt 36. Robert Brenner's argument for the rise by 1640 of "a colonial entrepreneurial leadership" linked by "a multiplicity of partnership and family ties" seeking to

"break out of their cycle of overproduction and rising debt by politically regulating the economy" clearly misses the marked shift away from regulation after that year and thus the role of this new elite in engineering this shift remains unclear. See Robert Brenner, Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 114-5, 129-30. Edmund Morgan does not note any debate over liberties and the common good or the role of the assembly, stressing rather the disapproval of English officials and that the program was simply not working. However, clearly the perceptions of the failure of the program involved more the recognition of world competition and frustration, not that the Crown disapproved restraints, but that the Crown failed to pass or enforce restraints on other colonies. In the 1641 instructions to Berkeley cited by Morgan-- instructions by the way which were simply a duplicate of those given to Wyatt in 1639--the Crown actually recommended stinting the tobacco crop "into a far less proportion then hath been made in ye last year 1637." Cf. "Virginia in 1638-39," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 11 (1903): 56; "Instructions to Berkeley, 1642" 287; Morgan, American Slavery 134-5. See also "Virginia in 1641-49," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 17 (1909): 16. The repeal thus reflects no change in Crown policy but rather suggests that Berkeley conveniently ignored his instructions in this matter. On Berkeley's early efforts at political reform, see Kukla, Political Institutions 36-8, 106-23.

95. For criticisms of the planter obsession with tobacco, see Chapter 5.

96. For eighteenth-century attempts to micromanage tobacco comparable to those of the 1630s, see "The Tobacco Acts of 1723 and 1729," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 20 (1912): 158-78.

97. The most persistent seventeenth-century restriction, the prohibition of seconds and slips, was revived in a March 1655/6 act as the only stint consistent with the good of colony as long as Maryland had a distinct government. See Hening 1: 399; 2: 119. After the Restoration, the assembly explicitly and matter-of-factly rejected any power of the "abridgment of any man's endeavours or confining him to any sett number of plants." See Hening 2: 119. With the failure of Maryland to comply with this proposed stint, the September 1664 Assembly passed the "Liberty to plant" bill that remained the law of the land until 1686, although the October 1686 Assembly claimed that the law on second and slips had never been repealed. See Hening 2: 209-10; 3: 33-5, 142. Cf. Hening 2: 190-1.



98. Hening 1: 296, 413-4, 463; 2: 124; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 88. However, particular circumstances could lead to local efforts to restrict engrossing as in Northampton in 1677. See McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 101. On the Indian fur trade, see "Acts, Orders and Resolutions" 252; Hening 1: 525; 2: 480; 3: 69; Billings, "Some Acts" 84; "Causes of Discontent" 170.

99. On English conservative thought, see Gunn, Politics 86, 108. One might note here that the prevailing normative consensus reflected nothing more than the dominance of the ethic of gentility. For an analysis of gentility as a complex blend of ideal and operative values, see Chapter 5.

100. Wyatt-Brown 82, 87. Stephen Saunders Webb provides the best overview of the radical nature of Bacon's rhetoric, but Webb is more interested in Bacon as a forerunner of the American Revolution than the debate here. See Stephen Saunders Webb, 1676: The End of American Independence (New York: Knopf, 1984) 1-165.

101. See Chapter 5.

102. So far I have only found two examples. See "Virginia in 1654-1656," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 18 (1910): 45-6; McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 322.

103. Thomas More, Utopia, eds. George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 15-21; John Cooke [Cook], Unum Necessarium: or, The Poore Mans Case (London, 1648) 44; Sir William Petty, The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, ed. Charles Henry Hull, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1899) 1: 37. For an attempt to answer such complex questions, see Appendix IV.

104. Crowley 9-10.

105. Darrett B. Rutman, "The Mirror of Puritan Authority," Law and Authority in Colonial America, ed. George Athan Billias (Barre, MA: Barre, 1965) 149-67; Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town 1630-1649 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1965) viii, 3; "New England as Idea and Society Revisited," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 41 (1984): 56-61.

106. Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970); Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis (New York: Free, 1969); Bernard Bailyn, "The Central Themes of the American Revolution: An Interpretation," Essays on the American Revolution, eds. Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1973) 3-31; Gene



Wise, "The Contemporary Crisis in Intellectual History Studies," Clio 5 (1975): 55-69; James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 3-32; John Higham and Paul K. Conkin, eds. New Directions in American Intellectual History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1979).

107. Berkhofer 9-10, 19-20, 98-101, 106-14. For a similar view of the new social history from an intellectual historian's perspective, see Gene Wise, American Historical Explanations (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1980) 158-76. Historians have been no more lax than other social scientists in making these distinctions. Berkhofer draws on a post-humous essay of anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn for his insights into this distinction but Kluckhohn's comments were made in a very offhand manner and certainly never played any important role in Kluckhohn's or any other modern anthropologist's work. Among social scientists, implicit and explicit definitions of "norms" often rest on ambiguous combinations of ideal values, operative values, and actual behavior, with little effort to distinguish between them. Cf. Walter Goldschmidt, "Culture and Human Behavior," Man and Cultures: Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, ed. Anthony F. C. Wallace (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1960) 98-104; Jack P. Gibbs, Norms, Deviance, and Social Control: Conceptual Matters (New York: Elsevier, 1981) 1-21; Robert Axelrod, "An Evolutionary Approach to Norms," American Political Science Review 80 (1986) 1096-7. More relevant is the work of psychologists and philosophers who have explored what they have variously labelled "folk psychology," "commonsense psychology," "the folklore of the mind," "the metaphysics of wise gossip," "psychofolklore," or just plain "common sense," rooted as strongly in Western thought as the traditional normative values. See Fritz Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations (New York: Wiley, 1958) 2; R. B. Joynson, Psychology and Common Sense (London: Routledge, 1974) 98-102; Richard Nisbett and Lee Ross, Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1980); D. H. Hargreaves, "Common-sense Models of Action," Models of Man, eds. Anthony J. Chapman and Dylan M. Jones (Leicester: British Psychological Society, 1980) 215-25; Stephen P. Stich, From Folk Psychology to Cognitive Science: The Case Against Belief (Cambridge: MIT P, 1983); William Lyons, The Disappearance of Introspection (Cambridge: MIT P, 1986) 125-8, 155; George Botterill, "Human Nature and Folk Psychology," The Person and the Human Mind: Issues in Ancient and Modern Philosophy, ed. Christopher Gill (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990) 165-85; Radu J. Bogdan, ed., Mind and Common Sense: Philosophical Essays on Commonsense Psychology (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991); John D. Greenwood, ed., The

Future of Folk Psychology: Intentionality and Cognitive Science (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).

#### CHAPTER 4 NECESSITY, THE PERPETUAL MOTHER

However much modern historians might believe that colonial Americans would naturally expect themselves to be economic maximizers, colonial Americans, including seventeenth-century Virginians, expected no such thing. Indeed, whether based on historical evidence, a priori psychological theory, or immersion and intuition, when traditionalists and modernists postulate that tobacco planters actually held maximizing operative values, they adopt a theory of human nature not shared by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britons, whether in England, Scotland, or the colonies. This becomes quite clear in an analysis of the views of contemporary British political economists--the first "scientific" observers of British society--who relied heavily on projecting expected behavior in shaping their policy recommendations. Although suffering some limitations which will become readily apparent, these political economists provide us with a framework for drawing out and explaining the operative values and expected behavior of seventeenth-century Englishmen from the complex of historical evidence generated by the everyday activities in early modern England and colonial America.

The Scylla of Avarice, the Charybdis of Indolence

One does not have to single out Virginia or colonial America as examples of the divergence between ideal and actual. Every ideal presents the potential for deviant behavior; for every virtue, there is potential for sin. As Thucydides remarked long ago, "the whole of mankind, whether individuals or communities, are by nature liable to sin."<sup>1</sup> Embedded in both the classical and Judeo-Christian traditions lies the nagging notion that, without effective sanctions, man's basic nature tends to lead him astray.

There is certainly nothing modern or even bourgeois in the belief that man's acquisitive instincts are unlimited. Whether due to a religious belief in man's fallen nature or a scientific view of human nature, the same commentators who condemned chrematistics regularly did so in spite of or because of their blanket acceptance of man's unlimited desire for wealth and insatiable avarice. Numerous early statements can be found in Plato, Aristotle, Aristophanes, Plutarch, Epicurus, St. Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas. Thucydides, for example, recorded a Corinthian speech which criticized the Athenians as "so insatiable that 'they toil on in trouble and danger all the days of their life, with little opportunity for enjoying' because they are 'ever engaged in getting.'"<sup>2</sup>

But avarice was only one of the seven deadly sins. If, over the centuries, avarice was more often considered the



deadliest, next in line was sloth or indolence.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, whether at home or in the colonies, to early modern British writers with their overriding obsession with national wealth and power, one could fairly say that idleness, whether voluntary or involuntary, had become the "root of all evil." As Francis Hutcheson well noted "'Tis scarce necessary to shew the necessity of diligence and industry, since the wealth and power of a nation depends almost wholly upon them."<sup>4</sup> One reason for the great popularity of applying the classical analogy of beekeeping to human society was the obvious parallel between drones and indolent humans.<sup>5</sup> If many have challenged Weber's Protestant ethic thesis, fewer have critiqued Marx's older thesis that the main contribution of Protestantism to the rise of capitalism lay in "changing almost all the traditional holidays into working days" or the related thesis that English Protestantism (whether primarily due to the influence of Puritanism, Anglicanism, or both) championed not a capitalistic but an "industrial ethic," "an ethic of toil."<sup>6</sup> Whether the Sabbatarian movement reflected more Puritanism or Protestantism in general, few can doubt the substantial influence of religion on the establishment of the six-day, sunrise-to-sunset workweek as the norm against which industry and indolence were measured in sixteenth- through eighteenth-century England.<sup>7</sup>

Just as contemporaries complained about the universal nature of avarice, so they condemned the basic indolent nature of man. Thus a very strong obstacle stood in the way of the endless pursuit of wealth: man's unwillingness to expend the necessary effort.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, a problem that has plagued economic science from the very beginning of modern political economy in the seventeenth century revolves around this very issue: which wins out, avarice or indolence? For the most part, classical and neo-classical economics leave the problem unresolved. According to the hedonistic foundation of modern economics, men seek to maximize their pleasure and minimize their pain, which in terms of reward and effort many have translated as seeking to maximize reward and minimize effort. But this model of behavior tells us very little about what people would do in any particular situation since it is highly unlikely that the same action would both maximize their reward and minimize their effort.<sup>9</sup>

A textbook economic question reveals the present ambiguity: Given the freedom to choose their amount of labor, would workers in general respond to a modest increase in real earned income (due, for example, to a rise in nominal earned income, a decrease in the earned income tax, or deflation) by working more or working less? Modern economists call this response the short-run elasticity of the supply of labor, an obviously important factor for guiding economic policy. Neo-classical economic theory, however, as

powerful as it is, has no answer to this question; the elasticity is theoretically indeterminate and can only be determined by empirical observation.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, British political economists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries long ago reached a theoretical consensus on this vital issue.

### Origins of Political Economy and the "Labor Question"<sup>11</sup>

At the heart of the debates in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Great Britain that defined political economy as a social science lay a fundamental question about human nature: What motivates a "free" labor force to provide the industry needed to make a nation great? The "labor problem" that obsessed these early modern writers differed fundamentally from the problems of earlier "slave" and later "trade union" epochs. No longer could Aristotelian rules of proper household management effectively discipline a labor force, while notions of collective bargaining and a standard forty-hour week/fifty-week year lay far in the future. Rather, political economists in pre-industrial England faced the problem of how to motivate an independent labor force, freed from serfdom and at least partially from the soil, yet resistant to continuous employment and undisciplined by the reward system that characterizes a developed economy.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, these early political economists had just begun to explore the "rules" of market supply-and-demand and faced

the rather rude evidence that English workers did not obey these "rules." Where all "normal" commodities naturally increased in supply in response to an increase in demand and price, labor appeared a most "perverse" commodity, responding to an increase in demand with a decrease in supply, or, as neo-classical economists would say, a negative supply elasticity or a "backward-sloping" short-run supply of labor.<sup>13</sup> Most historians and economists alike have come to employ this same "backward-sloping" terminology as an accurate characterization of the behavior of pre-industrial English laborers.<sup>14</sup> As Edgar S. Furniss wrote in 1920, "so many and positive are the statements of this effect of high wages that we are compelled to admit their truth and to conclude that the labor supply of England at this time did not increase but decreased as wages rose."<sup>15</sup>

The question at hand is not the actual behavior, or the "objective" explanations of the behavior, but what contemporaries expected and why. Economists and historians who have explored the views of these early political economists, focusing primarily on normative views about labor and theoretical views of the role of labor in the national economy, have traditionally divided them into two opposing camps: black (conservative/anti-labor/low-wage) and white (liberal/pro-labor/high-wage).

Numerous scholars have quoted as typical of low-wage theorists Arthur Young's famous line: "Every one but an



idiot knows that the lower classes must be kept poor or they will never be industrious."<sup>16</sup> Furniss cites numerous examples of what he calls the "utility of poverty" theory, running an unbroken span from the early seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. Key low-wage theorists included, in the seventeenth century Sir William Petty, Thomas Manley, John Houghton, Sir William Temple, and Francis Gardiner, and, in the eighteenth century, Bernard Mandeville, Joshua Gee, Henry Fielding, Sir James Steuart, William Temple (of Trowbridge), Arthur Young, and Francis Townsend.<sup>17</sup>

High-wage theorists, on the other hand, regularly noted that low wages did not necessarily mean cheap labor, citing as evidence higher labor productivity and greater prosperity in high-wage regions and countries. Adam Smith, the premier high-wage theorist, believed the "liberal reward of labor" was the "necessary effect and cause" as well as the "natural symptom" of increasing national wealth.<sup>18</sup> Along with Smith, the more important high-wage theorists included in the seventeenth century, Thomas Mun, Sir John Cook, Sir Matthew Hale, John Collins, Sir Josiah Child, Sir Walter Harris, Charles Davenant, and John Cary, and, in the eighteenth century, Daniel Defoe, Jacob Vanderlint, George Berkeley, Benjamin Franklin, Sir Matthew Decker, Malachy Postlethwayt, Josiah Tucker, David Hume, Nathaniel Forster, Richard Price, and James Anderson.<sup>19</sup>

As the traditional argument goes, conservatives attributed the behavior of the working classes to indolence, luxury, debauchery and other sins of the workers while liberals believed the behavior reflected poverty, malnutrition, involuntary unemployment, a lack of opportunity, insufficient reward, and various institutional constraints. Thus low-wage theorists believed that workers would respond with increased industry only if their wages were reduced, while high-wage theorists believed higher wages would promote increased industry.

Such divisions perhaps existed, but strict dichotomies are too simplistic. For example, almost all seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British political economists presumed the right to employment, the duty to labor, a Puritan workweek, a normative "subsistence theory of wages" (wages should be at a level just sufficient to maintain one's station), the existence of a "free labor" force (in descriptive if not perhaps normative theory), and the subsumption of particular interests within the common good. Furthermore, all political economists aspired to maximize national labor supply and productivity.<sup>20</sup>

More importantly for present purposes, when one focuses on evidence of operative values and expected behavior, a surprising degree of consensus emerges between the two "schools." Both groups drew on psychological insights into human nature and applied these insights to political econo-

my. They presumed all men "rational" in the positive Machiavellian-Hobbesian sense that all men were self-interested and pursued their "perceived" self-interest (although not necessarily their "true" interest), a self-interestedness that proper policy could manipulate for the common good and both "schools" also accepted a backward-sloping supply curve of effort, not just for the laboring poor but as a general psychological maxim applicable to all classes.<sup>21</sup>

Scholars have missed this consensus as a result of a combination of technical misinterpretation of statements, simplistic presumptions about class bias, and a general failure to consider both schools within the historical context in which they lived rather than in the context of modern debates about labor relations. Firstly, scholars have incorrectly dichotomized the two schools based on tenuous interpretations of unrepresentative statements, ranging from the logically inconsistent to the irrelevant. Thus, the low-wage position has been unjustifiably equated with what is called the "target income hypothesis" in which, for example, if a worker's wages were doubled he would cut his hours of work in half to maintain a fixed level of income. Most conservatives aphoristically noted nothing more than a general link between high wages and/or cheap subsistence and indolence (along with its corollary of low wages and/or dear subsistence and industry). Both low- and high-wage theorists

presumed higher wages would lead to increased consumption and lower wages would lead to reduced consumption.<sup>22</sup>

Secondly, modern scholars also incorrectly define high-wage theory in terms of what modern economists would call "normal" market behavior or positive elasticity, assuming an increasing labor supply as real wages increased.<sup>23</sup> The most important high-wage theorists throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century actually argued in favor of a backward-sloping supply of effort, a paradox noted by scholars since 1751 when Fielding chided Child for his seeming inconsistency. More recent historians of economic thought have expressed similar confusion over Davenant, Defoe, Franklin, Hume, Postlethwayt, and Tucker.<sup>24</sup> Other statements suggestive of a backward-sloping supply curve of effort appear in the work of Harris, Vanderlint, Berkeley, Hutcheson, Price, Forster, and Anderson.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in contrast to innumerable examples of negative elasticity, I can find no unambiguous example in the seventeenth and eighteenth century English literature of a claim for positive elasticity.<sup>26</sup>

Thirdly, granted that low-wage theorists shared some bias against the lower classes, this neither disproves their interpretation nor proves the analysis of high-wage theorists. Indeed, if "bias" is the correct word, liberal political economists tended to be as biased against the middle and upper classes as the conservatives were against the lower classes, a point almost totally ignored in the litera-



ture with its obsession with the "labor problem." Liberals far more often highlighted the "industrious" lower classes and "indolent" upper classes, although many also criticized the idleness, luxury, and debauchery of workers, blaming these vices usually on the poor laws, a general lack of employment, government policy (such as taxation and tariff), and concomitant hopelessness, rather than the high wages stressed by conservatives.<sup>27</sup> In turn, the low-wage theorists frankly acknowledged the indolence of the landed gentry and aristocracy but downplayed or justified such idleness on the grounds of their wealth and position.<sup>28</sup>

But we must move forward, beyond a mere critique of modern interpretations of pre-classical economics and build a positive case for an alternative interpretation. To do so we need to understand the intellectual context in which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Englishmen conceived such problems and this requires going back to the classical roots of the operative idea of "necessity."

### Classical Necessity

In effect, high- and low-wage theorists converged on a set of operative values that we will call the "necessity consensus." The normative concept of necessity can be traced back to the classical era and persisted undiminished in Western intellectual thought through the Middle Ages into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, as the

fundamental motivating force behind human nature and nature in general, necessity played an equally central role in both the normative development of natural law and operative theories of political economy. If the classical maxim "Necessity knows no law" captured the normative view, then the even-more-ancient notion that "Necessity is the mother of invention" proved the essence of the operative view.

Drawing on the classics, seventeenth-century English scholars began bandying about "necessity" as the motive force for all aspects of economic development. The maxim "Necessity is the mother of invention" first appeared in England in the mid-seventeenth century. Perhaps the earliest usage in print is in John Cook's Unum Necessarium: or The Poore Mans Case (1648): "Necessity was at first the mother of inventions, and hunger taught the Parrat to speak, but we have now too many Cormorants."<sup>29</sup> Indeed, this fascinating (yet unfortunately much ignored) tract, in adapting almost every classical maxim about necessitas to the study of early modern poverty, may very well have done more than any other single text to inject the entire idea of necessity in all its normative and operative connotations into the rhetoric of political economy.<sup>30</sup>

Numerous low- and high-wage theorists alike, including Cook, readily extended the concept of necessity to many other aspects of human behavior. Besides "invention," writers frequently mentioned "industry," "oeconomy," "frugali-

ty," and "parsimony," as children of necessity.<sup>31</sup> Throughout Western Europe similar proverbs of "necessity," "want," and "poverty" as the mother/mistress/teacher of invention/art/industry/wit proliferated.<sup>32</sup>

But what exactly did they mean by necessity? Wrenching ancient maxims out of their particular context is a treacherous business. Indeed over the centuries, necessity undoubtedly had as many definitions as "nature" and "natural."<sup>33</sup> For our purposes, we must track the maxims they used to their source.

We can identify the origins of the concept of necessity as the basic motivating force in nature with the work of Democritus and the Greek Atomists in their major "scientific" challenge to theological conceptions of the world. They identified anankē ("necessity") as the basic motive force of atomic motion, "the ultimate controlling principle" that "everything follows the laws of its own being" which foreordains the history of the universe as "the inevitable outcome, step by step, of its original and eternal constitution."<sup>34</sup>

When extended to human beings, necessity took on a more complex form, merging with elements of free will, animal instinct, utility, and custom.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore, the Atomists often blurred the line between anankē (with its image as a universal unstoppable physical force) and chreia (man's particular needs, whether for survival of the individual or

race, or simply utility), often interchanging the two terms, suggesting that man's needs (as commonly understood) provided the central motivation for his activities. This distinction became even more obscured when the two ideas were combined in the single Latin term necessitas, while chreia was alternately translated as usus (utilitarian needs) and egestas (absolute poverty).<sup>36</sup>

The connection between necessity and needs was clearest in descriptions of the invention of the first arts for the purpose of meeting man's survival needs (that is to say, food, shelter, clothing). The Democritean explanations of the origins of culture, the germ of the basic conception of necessity as the mother of invention, attributed these inventions--as well as the gathering of men into groups--to man's need to protect himself from the environment and other wild creatures. For later needs, classical scholars often adopted highly ethnocentric interpretations based on Greek culture. And all scholars, including Democritus himself, accepted that beyond some unspecified (and highly ambiguous) level, necessity played less of a role and other factors--leisure, experience, time, education, imitation of nature, individual genius, pleasure, reason--came to the fore as the source of the more civilized arts such as music and astronomy.<sup>37</sup> Thus Pliny the Younger, who claimed that necessity was the mistress of the arts, could equally claim that "honour is with us as keen an incentive as necessity with others."<sup>38</sup>



But this did not mean the abandonment of the concept of necessity in civilized society. Indeed, although necessity no longer implied man's survival needs per se, for many classical scholars necessity continued to drive the course of civilization. Inherent in this "progressivist" (or, as Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas would say "anti-primitivist") view lay a belief in the "psychic unity" of mankind, that all men are rational animals (albeit with reason only present as a germ in primitive man), share the same needs, and progress through the same stages through "independent invention".<sup>39</sup> Thucydides noted that in the absence of obstacles, other societies would follow the same course as Greek civilization.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Aristotle believed that necessity taught men what was needful and then by degrees led them to refinements and superfluities which then took on a momentum of their own towards realization of man's intrinsic nature, approaching the Greek ideal of "the good."<sup>41</sup> Cicero, who indeed equated necessity with reason, shared similar Aristotelian ideas of man's perfectibility, with reason overcoming man's weakness by using the arts to achieve the ultimate goal of the "good life."<sup>42</sup>

While many classical scholars accepted this Democritean framework, others contested the assumptions as to what constituted man's needs and the degree to which necessity played a role in cultural development. Although they shared the belief of the progressivists that much of technological

evolution was of relatively recent origin, these "primitivists" disparagingly attributed most of this evolution to man's avarice and luxury, his insatiable demand for superfluities far beyond primitive survival needs, and a perpetual search for novelties reflecting the perverse nature of man, never satisfied with what he has.<sup>43</sup> "Soft" primitivists envisioned a Golden Age of abundance ended by man's ambition and avarice, similar to the Judeo-Christian Fall.<sup>44</sup> But as "soft" primitivism gave way to "hard" primitivism (stressing the harsh and virtuous conditions of early man) with the rise of the Cynics and Stoics, the regressive avarice model continued in force. While most could agree that man's needs included clothing and housing, others noted that the earliest men went naked and lacked shelter, yet survived.<sup>45</sup> Hard primitivists believed that greater wealth led to even greater wants, always outrunning income, with luxury and avarice perpetually feeding on each other.<sup>46</sup> Seneca, the most important source for sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century hard primitivism, noted that "it is now a mark of boorishness or of poverty to want only what is enough."<sup>47</sup>

These primitivistic views led to the widespread belief in the beneficial aspects of poverty and/or adversity for the promotion of the virtues.<sup>48</sup> As Arcesilaus summarized, "Poverty is the practical school of all the virtues."<sup>49</sup> So often was the idea expressed that others began condemning

the practice of making a virtue of necessity.<sup>50</sup> However, other anti-primitivists suggested that the state could beneficially manipulate man's avarice--Isocrates and Xenophon, for example, who believed public rewards for inventions would promote invention by harnessing self-interest to the common good.<sup>51</sup>

An intermediate position existed between these classical "progressivist" and "avarice" models of development which we will call the classical "indolence" model. Here the emphasis was on neither man's progressive nor his avaricious nature, but on his inherent laziness. This view stressed, like the primitivists, that poverty promoted the virtues, but simply added the virtue of industry to poverty's effects (downplayed by the primitivists who would hardly praise the role of poverty in stimulating despised economic development). This idea fed naturally into the view that poverty (penia) or man's needs (chreia) continue to promote technological and economic development in the present era (which progressivists tended to downplay). The belief in man's natural indolence traces back to Hesiod's tale, later reflected in Virgil, that the gods terminated the Golden Age (in which man was satiated and indolent) by hiding the means of life to force man to toil. Inherent in this view was the idea that removal of needs, either through the spontaneous production of nature or the gifts of the gods, reduced the drive to discover new inventions.<sup>52</sup> This view was seconded

by the animalitarian belief that the gods purposefully made man physically weaker and more needy than the other animals to compel him to use his gift of reason to discover the arts which would allow him to survive--that indeed nature was a cruel "stepmother" rather than a caring mother where man was concerned.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, numerous classical scholars followed Herodotus, Hippocrates, and Plato in stressing the enervating impact of "soft" environments of fertile soil, warmer climate, and natural abundance, to explain the natural rise of Greek and the decline of Egyptian civilizations.<sup>54</sup>

Although seldom applied to contemporaneous economic behavior, the indolence model did casually appear in a few matter-of-fact statements. Plato (quoting Socrates) stated the common-sense view that when a potter becomes rich he will certainly not take the same pains with his art as he once did, but rather "will grow more and more indolent and careless."<sup>55</sup> Demosthenes bemoaned the fact that poverty and the stress of the times compelled freemen and freewomen to turn to menial work.<sup>56</sup> Xenophon, although as a defender of public rewards for inventions hardly a defender of an indolence model, defended the redistribution of wealth on the assumption that increased income for the lower orders would naturally lead to greater leisure.<sup>57</sup> In this way we can interpret many classical aphorisms which suggest that if not necessity, then interchangeably poverty (penia, paupertas,



egestas) is the mother, mistress, teacher of the arts and industry, rousing man from his sloth.<sup>58</sup>

Like the Stoics, the indolence theorists stressed the relative nature of wants but gave to relative poverty a driving force that the Stoics could only attribute to universal avarice. Along with most ancients, both groups equated unhappiness with a state of unsatisfied desire, but while relative poverty implies having less than what one thinks one should have (with the implicit assumption of satiability), universal avarice suggests wanting more than what one should have and thus wanting without limit.<sup>59</sup> That classical scholars understood the relative nature of poverty no less than medieval and modern scholars is supported by numerous aphorisms. To Democritus, "Greater wants produce greater deficiencies" and "Poverty [penia] and wealth are only other names for want [endeia] and satiety; therefore he who wants anything is not rich, nor is he poor who wants nothing." For Xenophon, "There is less of hardship in not acquiring the good things of this life, than of unhappiness in being deprived of what we once possessed." And to Manilius, "One's poverty is proportioned to his wants."<sup>60</sup> The Romans distinguished necessitas and paupertas (relative poverty) and pauper (relatively poor) from egestas and penuria (absolute poverty), with relative poverty more a matter of "poor circumstances" and "straitened means" but still denoting a respectable class, far removed from a state

of absolute poverty verging on starvation.<sup>61</sup> Martial noted that "Straitened means [paupertas] and absolute destitution [habere nihil] are two very different things" and Seneca that "Poverty [paupertas] is not the enjoyment of little, but the lack of much."<sup>62</sup>

There was much room for overlap between the indolence and progressivist models and scholars like Virgil, Manilius, and Thucydides, drawing upon elements from both, painted a far more complex picture of man.<sup>63</sup> For example, Thucydides could claim that "men are much more dexterous in warding off adversity than in preserving prosperity," while celebrating hope and ambition as the "greatest stimuli in every undertaking" and asserting that Fortune "incites even the faint-hearted to make an effort."<sup>64</sup> But the two models inevitably diverge on a critical assumption about the nature of the relationship between human nature and progress. In the progressivist model--which adopts a telic view of human nature--progress is only checked by obstacles. In the indolence model--which emphasizes man's original, unchanging nature--obstacles serve to spur progress.

One last point: Classical scholars were far less concerned about determining causation than making judgments about the lessons which they could draw from such natural models for their present.<sup>65</sup> None of the models involved highly developed theories of political economy. To the degree that prosperity and adversity, riches and poverty,

represent unearned income accruing to individuals or the society, the indolence model really states nothing different from what all neo-classical economists would readily admit: any increase in unearned income will lead to a decrease in the drive for earned income. Not until the rise of modern political economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were these ideas refined enough to provide the basis of a necessity theory of political economy.

### Necessity, the Mother of Invention

All three of these classical models of cultural development--progressivist, avarice, and indolence--show up in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (and indeed persist into the twentieth century) in one form or another with varying degrees of popularity. Avarice models persisted in Romantic celebrations of the "Noble Savage," condemnations of the root of avarice behind economic developments (like enclosures), as well as in a more positive acceptance of avarice as a universal element of human nature which the state could manipulate.<sup>66</sup> Progressive models built around the temporalization of the Great Chain of Being and a "psychic unity" of mankind became highly popular during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.<sup>67</sup>

However, the indolence model emerged as far and away the dominant model of societal evolution in Western (especially British) political economy, revitalized and refined

in what can be called the necessity consensus. Early modern scholars sided with those Greeks and Romans who believed that man's natural indolence would inhibit development unless countered by corrective laws or natural obstacles engendering the relative poverty which would stimulate industry. With fairly universal support for development, these scholars feared that the triumph not of avarice but of indolence would kill the industry believed essential to progress.

This necessity consensus was reinforced by compatible Calvinist and classical republican views, best summarized by Francis Bacon in his essay "Of Adversity": "Prosperity doth best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue."<sup>68</sup> Puritans and their descendants believed that poverty and adversity fostered Christian virtues more effectively than wealth and prosperity which would only lead to the proliferation of the cardinal sins, including luxury, avarice, and indolence.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, following Machiavelli, text after text echoed classical republicanism in condemning luxury as incompatible with political liberty and advocating a "Spartan model" to avoid the corruption of rich, luxurious nations.<sup>70</sup> As in the classical era, so forcefully were such statements made that it gave rise to the accusation of making a virtue of necessity and thus confusing moral with natural law.<sup>71</sup>



The Renaissance had brought the revival of classical environmentalist ideas in the work of Botero, Bodin, Machiavelli, and Montaigne, echoing Plato on the softening effects of an abundant environment. These ideas continued to dominate geographic thought into the eighteenth century, as reflected in the later work of Montesquieu, Humboldt, and the Scottish Enlightenment.<sup>72</sup> Increasingly, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political economists across Europe moved from environmentalist models to models stressing the beneficial effects of increasing population pressure on limited resources stimulating greater industry, economic development, and in general the progress of civilization.<sup>73</sup>

In British political economy, these ideas converged on a concept of necessity which continued to retain all of the connotations of relative poverty and a universal physical force embedded in human nature and man's needs. (Indeed, "necessity" retains all of its classical connotations even in the twentieth century.<sup>74</sup>) In the tradition of the classical indolence model, by necessity they meant that relative poverty which alone could motivate increases in human effort. The English had long accepted, on a normative basis, distinctions in the "needs" of individuals defining competency according to one's station. With the Renaissance rediscovery of past ages and the discovery of the New World, stark exposure to differences in needs over time and across

cultures simply reinforced the belief in the relative nature of needs.<sup>75</sup>

British political economists further refined this view of necessity to derive a concept akin to a universal backward-sloping supply curve of labor. Thus, regardless of whether individuals or societies were in positions of relative poverty or relative surplus, an increase in their real earned income would tend to lead to decreased effort or industry and vice versa. This necessity could take economic, demographic, or sociopolitical forms and the market, Malthusian pressures, and allocation of resources were not mutually exclusive elements in their analysis of political economy. Depending on one's situation, necessity could equally arise from lower or higher market prices, increasing or decreasing population, as well as the laws of the state.

However, these political economists acknowledged that necessity, while necessary, was not sufficient since hope and opportunity were also important. Implicitly if not explicitly, they more specifically hypothesized that necessity, ceteris paribus, motivated all classes to greater efforts of mind and body, with the amount of increase tempered by the level of hope and opportunity.

Thus the necessity consensus incorporated important concessions to the classical progressive and avarice models: Obstacles beyond a certain point prove counterproductive to economic development; too harsh an environment inhibits the

rise of civilization; given two courses of action comparable in terms of effort, men will follow the course of greatest profit; opportunity channels the response to necessity; men will only pursue courses of action with at least some hope of increased income; common property or communism is less conducive to industry than private property; maximization of productivity requires both carrot and stick; absolute poverty to the point of physical deterioration does not promote increased effort. Necessity spurs an individual to undertake an opportunity requiring increased industry or frugality which otherwise the individual would not have undertaken. But both low- and high-wage theorists stressed that necessity would prove ineffective without hope and opportunity, although hope and opportunity were, again, insufficient.<sup>76</sup>

This balance between hope, opportunity, and necessity took some time to work out (and indeed has not yet been completely worked out).<sup>77</sup> We can spot incipient development as early as 1549 in Sir Thomas Smith's classic A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England. Heavily influenced by the classical avarice mode, Smith attributed the contemporaneous movement in England toward engrossment, enclosure, and pasturage to insatiable avarice and luxury.<sup>78</sup> "For every man, as Plato says, is naturally covetous of lucre and that wherein they see most lucre they will most gladly exercise." However, like Xenophon and Isocrates, Smith believed that while the state could not reduce this

avarice, it could redirect it through the manipulation of rewards and penalties to, respectively, encourage behavior beneficial and discourage behavior detrimental to the common good. Thus farmers would readily respond to price incentives (created by manipulating export duties or restrictions on export) causing them to shift between pasturage and tillage as needed by the commonweal.<sup>79</sup> Following the belief of Solon that in a commonweal "men should be provoked to good deeds by rewards and presents and to abstain from ill doings by pains," Smith maintained that it was impossible to pass a law compelling men to be industrious in labor of either mind or body and that such labor could only be stimulated if rewarded and honored.<sup>80</sup>

But in line with the indolence model, Smith also noted that inflation, the decay of their revenues, and a general "lack of living" had forced the landed gentry either to reduce their households, "live but grossly and barbarously, as without wines, spices, and silks," or "study" means to increase their revenues "to seek to maintain their countenance as their predecessors did."<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, Smith condemned the sloth and idleness as well as the luxury of Englishmen compared to other nations. Drawing upon the analogy of the role of luxury in Rome in the decline of the Roman Empire, he attributed the prevalence of luxury in London to the abundance of riches flowing into the capital,



while outside of London "the law of necessity keeps men in good case for exceeding either in apparel or fare."<sup>82</sup>

What Smith meant by "the law of necessity" is unclear, although he clearly sought to suggest that this "natural law," as well as statutory law, could promote virtuous behavior. If he implied the notion of necessity as the mother of frugality, however, his failure to mention the "law of necessity" in his analysis of the alternative responses of the landed gentry suggests he did not know how far to extend the law of necessity and had not resolved the problematic relationship between necessity, indolence, and avarice. By attributing to avarice rather than necessity the observation that individuals would only respond to opportunity so long as their efforts proved profitable and opportunity carried the hope of betterment--whether gentry enclosing lands or tenants farming common land--Smith remained far more imbedded in a classical avarice model, albeit with strong transitional elements pointing the way to the later necessity consensus.

While later necessity theorists seconded Smith that laws enforcing physical or mental labor were generally counterproductive, they believed, like Machiavelli, that the state could stimulate industry by creating an atmosphere of artificial necessity. In such a situation, absolute poverty or self-preservation was not necessary to motivate increased effort, since indeed any change from the status quo decrea-

sing real income (whether in reduced wages, higher taxes, or inflation) increased necessity. Indeed, necessity, when identified as the secret to Dutch commercial success--whether based on a populationist-environmentalist basis (a large population concentrated on a limited land area carved out of the sea) or a political basis (heavy taxation)--became an important tool of English political economy, stimulating what Furniss calls the "Dutch fetish" among both low- and high-wage theorists.<sup>83</sup>

Yet, despite the universal psychological nature of necessity and the cross-class implications of the Dutch model of development, conservatives and liberals did not consistently apply this model of man to all classes or situations. Low-wage theorists tended to apply the necessity model only to the lower classes and high-wage theorists only to the middle and upper classes. Indeed, John Collins, a high-wage theorist, chastized the class bias of conservatives who would apply necessity to others but not to themselves, a carrot for the rich and a stick for poor.<sup>84</sup> The necessity model readily fits traditional interpretations of harsh mercantilist policies to force more labor out of the poor. In contrast, these same low-wage theorists frequently presumed that "industrious classes," like merchants and farmers, would simply continue in their present line of employment if profitable, or else abandon that line for some

other equally profitable line of employment (like farmers switching back and forth between tillage and pasture).<sup>85</sup>

In contrast, high-wage theorists regularly extended the necessity model to the middle and upper classes while shying away from applying the model to the poorer classes. As an early exemplar of high-wage theory, Sir Thomas Smith had noted that although the "lack of living" impacts rich and poor alike, this lack of living stimulates only protesting and rioting and not increased industry among the lower classes, whether displaced tenants, husbandmen without sufficient vent, or underemployed clothiers.<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, high-wage theorists consistently argued that lowering the rate of interest would promote industry and thriftiness by forcing those who had been able to live upon unearned income to work and reduce consumption.<sup>87</sup> Daniel Defoe attributed the rise of "The Projecting Age" in late-seventeenth-century England to losses inflicted on merchants and their insurers by the war with France. "Prompted by Necessity," Defoe observed, merchants "rack their Wits for New Contrivances, New Inventions, New Trades, Stocks, Projects, and any thing to retrieve the desperate Credit of their Fortunes."<sup>88</sup> While low-wage theorists examined the response of the working classes to changes in real wages and commodity prices, high-wage theorists examined the response of the employing classes, emphasizing the benefits of commercial competition. Henry Martyn believed the stickiness of wages

and the pressure of lower prices resulting from foreign competition forced employers caught in a cost-price squeeze to search for innovations in technology and organization to improve production efficiency.<sup>89</sup>

But in the final analysis both high- and low-wage theorists reaffirmed the relative nature of necessity applicable to all classes. High-wage theorists, stressing that the wages of workers were already at subsistence levels, believed that reduced income would lead not to increased industry but only to physical deterioration. Low-wage theorists did not deny that absolute poverty would lead to a reduction in effort, but rather simply claimed that the present wages of workers were far above subsistence levels, even allowing English laborers a diet superior to comparable Irish, French, or Dutch workers.<sup>90</sup> That high-wage theorists went to the empirically and theoretically tenuous position of specifying wages at some absolute minimum suggests that they, as well as low-wage theorists, accepted that at any wage above such a minimum the low-wage argument would hold.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, although arguing over the alternative responses that the middle and upper classes might make to necessity--whether increased industry in the previous line of effort or a shift to an entirely new line of effort--both schools confirmed that necessity was applicable to classes far above levels of subsistence. The frequent assumption that induced wants had the same effect as



necessity among all classes further affirms the belief in the relative nature of necessity.<sup>92</sup>

Both high- and low-wage theorists, like classical scholars before them, recognized that just as necessity itself could take economic, demographic, or sociopolitical forms, so could responses to necessity. While we have focused here on the "positive" responses of industry and invention, in the same circumstances they easily visualized potentially "negative" responses. As Plato and Aristotle well noted, if poverty promoted the discovery of the arts, it also bred crime, riot, and revolution, a view inherent in the maxim that "necessity knows no law."<sup>93</sup> High-wage theorists often tended to sidestep the issue of supply of effort when speaking of the working classes, focusing instead on the negative responses to lower wages. Low-wage theorists, on the other hand, did not deny these alternative responses, and indeed usually sought to check potential negative outlets through legal means in order to channel the response to necessity into increased effort.<sup>94</sup> More generally, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British political economists recognized that many factors affected how particular individuals (or countries) would respond to necessity, including level of wealth, health, age, and personality.<sup>95</sup> Among the multifarious responses they highlighted were: reduced consumption (including reducing the number of servants);<sup>96</sup> emigration;<sup>97</sup> long-distance trade;<sup>98</sup> abandoning present trade

for another (most prominently moving out of agriculture and into non-agricultural employments and rural-urban migration);<sup>99</sup> resorting to poor relief;<sup>100</sup> delaying marriage and child bearing;<sup>101</sup> rioting and combination;<sup>102</sup> rebellion, revolutions, and civil wars;<sup>103</sup> warfare;<sup>104</sup> borrowing;<sup>105</sup> "begging or stealing";<sup>106</sup> and prostitution.<sup>107</sup>

### The Adam Smith Paradox

What about the ultimate high-wage theorist, Adam Smith? Truly, Adam Smith reveals the complexity of argument brought to bear on the subject, but he ultimately proves a quite typical high-wage theorist. Most scholars believe Smith a staunch advocate of a forward-sloping supply of effort, regularly quoting from the Wealth of Nations:<sup>108</sup>

The liberal reward of labour, as it encourages the propagation, so it increases the industry of the common people. The wages of labour are the encouragement of industry, which, like every other human quality, improves in proportion to the encouragement it receives. A plentiful subsistence increases the bodily strength of the labourer, and the comfortable hope of bettering his condition, and of ending his days perhaps in ease and plenty, animates him to exert that strength to the utmost.<sup>109</sup>

Some have contrasted this suggestion of positive elasticity with Smith's earlier support for a backward-sloping supply of effort, suggested by the observation in his Lectures on Justice that with tradesmen in the commercial parts of England "their work through half this week is sufficient to maintain them, and through want of education they have no amusement for the other, but riot and debauchery."<sup>110</sup>

Neither the positive elasticity nor the volte-face interpretation does justice to Smith's argument, however. For the most part, Smith's approach readily falls into a traditional industry-versus-indolence framework, a framework Smith originally developed from a philosophical perspective in The Theory of Moral Sentiments.<sup>111</sup> For Smith, industrious man in "continual motion" seeks to maximize his "industry", "income", and "wealth" due to "mutual emulation and the desire of greater gain" and "the uniform, constant, and uninterrupted effort of everyman to better his condition."<sup>112</sup> "Every individual is continually exerting himself to find out the most advantageous employment for whatever capital he can command."<sup>113</sup> Indolent man, on the other hand, reflects "the interest of every man to live as much at his ease as he can."<sup>114</sup> "It is better, says the proverb, to play for nothing, than to work for nothing."<sup>115</sup> As Nathan Rosenberg summarizes, "Smith attached great importance to the belief that the generality of mankind is intractably slothful and prone to indolence."<sup>116</sup>

Although Smith often treated industry and indolence as habits formed early in life and changed only with great resistance, he also believed that indolent man might readily and rapidly transform into industrious man with institutional changes.<sup>117</sup> Conditions promoting industry include a reward commensurate with one's effort (as in self-employment or piecework), no restrictions on labor mobility, security in

one's reward, the division of labor, employment in "productive labour," and a reward equal to the "natural price" of one's labor. All of these changes foster "the hope of bettering one's condition" and thus an increase in the per capita level of industry with no change in real wages. Reverse changes cause industrious man to revert to indolent man.<sup>118</sup>

But Smith seemed, in Wealth of Nations, to suggest that industry also changes proportionably with real wages. To understand this seeming inconsistency, we need to see exactly what Smith meant by "industry." Smith clearly distinguished four basic elements in industry: effort (loss of ease, liberty, and happiness), physiological labor capacity (health, strength, spirits), mental labor capacity (ingenuity, dexterity, spirits), and human capital (training, education, skill). Smith followed closely the high-wage argument that both labor capacities and human capital rise with real wages, while effort moves in the opposite direction:

The proper performance of every service seems to require that its pay or recompence should be, as exactly as possible, proportioned to the nature of the service. If any service is very much under-paid, it is very apt to suffer by the meanness and incapacity of the greater part of those who are employed in it. If it is very much over-paid, it is apt to suffer, perhaps, still more by their negligence and idleness.<sup>119</sup>

Smith tended to equate industrious man constrained by labor capacity with the lower classes and indolent man constrained by necessity with the upper classes. Rosenberg



believes that Smith implied a backward-sloping supply of effort for capitalists in his opposition to high interest and profits and his emphasis on the pressure of competition.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, Smith noted as clear a statement of the target income hypothesis as any low-wage theorist:

In every profession, the exertion of the greater part of those who exercise it, is always in proportion to the necessity they are under of making that exertion. This necessity is greatest with those to whom the emoluments of their profession are the only source from which they expect their fortune, or even their ordinary revenue and subsistence. In order to acquire this fortune, or even to get this subsistence, they must, in the course of a year, execute a certain quantity of work of a known value.<sup>121</sup>

But although Smith did not normally apply this necessity framework to the lower classes, he did not exclude them. For lower and upper classes alike, reward incommensurate with effort breeds indolence, whether in slaves, servants, apprentices, soldiers, great landlords, public servants, or Oxford dons.<sup>122</sup> Even for industrious man, he noted, "great labour, either of mind or body, continued for several days together, is in most men naturally followed by a great desire of relaxation, which, if not restrained by force or by some strong necessity, is almost irresistible."<sup>123</sup> Smith suggested as much in his contrast of the industry of poverty-stricken Chinese artificers with the indolence of relatively wealthy European tradesmen.<sup>124</sup> Any difference between Smith and other necessity theorists thus reduces to a matter of semantics: whether necessity spurs industry or necessity reduces relaxation.

This industry-versus-indolence framework helps explain the seeming inconsistencies in the evidence for the positive elasticity and volte-face interpretations above. Firstly, the quotation opening this section simply conveys Smith's image of industrious man increasing physiological labor capacity ("bodily strength") with a rise in real wages ("plentiful subsistence") within a proper institutional environment ("the comfortable hope of bettering his condition") which causes him to maximize his effort ("exert that strength to the utmost"). While capacity might improve "in proportion to the encouragement it receives," Smith suggested no degree of elasticity in effort, simply maximization.<sup>125</sup> Secondly, whereas Smith, in his Lectures on Justice, attributed the rampant idleness in the working classes to the indolence rising out of a lack of proper education, in the Wealth of Nations he changed his mind, finding idleness restricted to a minority and reflecting rather the relaxation naturally concomitant with maximization of effort. This turnabout does not entail any change in Smith's behavioral framework, but does imply a change in habit, institutional environment, level of necessity, or simply Smithian polemics.

Smith's exclusive focus on the long-run labor supply (in other words, population growth) and his treatment of all factors of production as inelastic in the short run, suggest that he considered the supply of effort of little conse-

quence and fairly inelastic.<sup>126</sup> This explains how when Smith analyzed Vanderlint's and Postlethwayt's case of a "general mourning"--in which they had attempted to prove (albeit incorrectly) the case for a forward-sloping supply curve of labor by describing how tailors responded positively to the increased demand associated with "a general Mourning for the Death of a Prince"--he could make no mention of their main point that extraordinary wages lead to an increase in effort.<sup>127</sup> Further, Smith believed that only an increase in the numbers of "productive labourers" or a change in technology could increase agricultural productivity.<sup>128</sup> But whether inelastic or backward-sloping, the supply of effort plays little role in Smith's general theory, thus tending to confirm the conclusion of R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner that Smith was inconsistent but "the inconsistency was often consistent, because it rarely damaged the central analysis."<sup>129</sup>

#### What Ever Happened to the Necessity Consensus?

In essence, Smith's basic approach to the analysis of labor supply did not differ substantially from low-wage theorists like Petty and Temple in the seventeenth century, his eighteenth-century high-wage compatriots like Hume, Forster, Anderson, or his nineteenth-century followers like Thomas Robert Malthus, John R. McCulloch, Nassau William Senior, and Wilhelm Roscher. All stressed necessity as well

as habit, custom, hope, and labor capacity to one degree or other.<sup>130</sup> That modern scholars have neglected this pre-classical necessity consensus need not surprise us for the consensus never developed into a coherent synthesis, never attracted its systematizer, and played little role in the theory-building of pre-classical economists like Richard Cantillon, James Steuart, and Adam Smith, to which modern economics traces its roots.

Political economists had little interest in developing a theoretically rigorous necessity theory. Indeed, any necessity theory faced as much trouble in the seventeenth-century as a similar theory would today. The inherent problem is reflected in the work of John Houghton, who undoubtedly did more than anyone to popularize the the idea of necessity in his long-running, late seventeenth-century newsletter. Houghton at one time or another extended the concept to all classes indiscriminately. In his view, the gentry, farmers, merchants, tradesmen, manufacturers, and laborers all ceased working when "they have enough." The major difference between the classes depended on the length of their time-perspective, varying from the weekly wage of a wage laborer to the lifetime retirement fund of a gentleman.<sup>131</sup> The effect of distress caused by civil wars, prodigality, and indebtedness promoted a late seventeenth-century agricultural revolution as "necessity" pressured the normally indolent gentry to rack their tenants and engage "upon



new projects and industry."<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, although most low-wage theorists considered that farmers simply abandoned agriculture in response to low prices and high rents, Houghton (later echoed by Young) believed that these rack rents caused tenant farmers to accept "projects and industry they never could be induced to" before.<sup>133</sup> But Houghton observed when considering the applicability of the Dutch model to England: "I will not wish such Necessity upon our selves in order to the like Improvements; but if for our Sins, through War, or any other Calamity, we shou'd be reduc'd...we may then say like David, 'Twill be good for us that we have been afflicted.'"<sup>134</sup> Indeed, even if political economists recognized that sticks might be better policy, political common sense usually dictated carrots.

The differences between high- and low-wage theorists made development of a true necessity synthesis difficult if not impossible. Then as now, the polemical debate over the labor problem struck more to the heart of contemporary concerns than the development of a consistent behavioral approach to political economy. One may well agree with Jacob Viner that, despite pretensions to positive science, much of the early political economy represented mere "special pleading for limited economic interests."<sup>135</sup> Every tract had its political agenda directed toward some pressing issue like corn bounties, excise taxes, or interest rates. And although every writer aspired to an objective, rational argument in

defense of his particular proposal, theory and description bent readily to political purposes.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, pre-classical political economy reeks of normative dichotomies and class biases (indolence versus industry, necessities versus luxuries, prodigality versus frugality) that modern analysts must treat with suspicion. Work, leisure, consumption, and savings scarcely existed as objective concepts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for all depended on the "proper station" of the individual.<sup>137</sup>

Nevertheless, although politics, moralisms, and biases make analysis of core ideas difficult, the amazing similarity at the level of operative values across a span of more than a hundred years and dozens of authors suggest that however much these values might bend to different policies, the values remained the same and were shared by a wide cross-section of English intellectuals. As J. G. A. Pocock notes in regard to his own intense examination of contemporaneous political thought, despite the many problems of analysis, "an intellectual scaffolding can be discovered in [their] thought, a language of assumptions and problems more consistent than [their] behavior and shared to a considerable degree by writers on both sides of the political divide."<sup>138</sup>

### Notes

1. Qtd. in Craufurd Tait Ramage, Familiar Quotations from Greek Authors, 2nd ed. (1895; Detroit: Gale, 1968) 515.

2. S. Todd Lowry, The Archaeology of Economic Ideas: The Classic Greek Tradition (Durham: Duke UP, 1987) 317n19. See also Edwin N. Brown, Treasury of Latin Gems: A Companion Book and Introduction to the Treasures of Latin Literature (Hastings, NE, 1894) 78-9; Edmund Whittaker, A History of Economic Ideas (New York: Longmans, 1940) 63-8; Alfred F. Chalk, "Natural Law and the Rise of Economic Individualism in England," Journal of Political Economy 59 (1951): 336-7; John W. Baldwin, "The Medieval Theories of the Just Price: Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 2nd ser. 49 (1959) 12-6; Raymond De Roover, "The Scholastic Attitude toward Trade and Entrepreneurship," Explorations in Economic History 1 (1963): 79-80; Keith Thomas, "The Social Origins of Hobbes's Political Thought," Hobbes Studies, ed. K. C. Brown (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1965) 216; Ludwig Edelstein, The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1967) 125-6; Stephen Lofthouse and John Vint, "Some Conceptions and Misconceptions Concerning Economic Man," Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Economiche e Commerciali 25 (1978): 587-8; Ramsay MacMullen, "Roman Elite Motivation: Three Questions," Past & Present 88 (1980): 7; Paul A. Rahe, Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1992) 25, 101-3.

3. Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature (1952; Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1967) xiv; Clarence J. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Berkeley: U of California P, 1967) 153-4, 235, 302-9; Edward Joseph Hundert, "The Conception of Work and the Worker in Early Industrial England: Studies of an Ideology in Transition," diss., U of Rochester, 1969, 43-4; David Macarov, Worker Productivity: Myths and Reality (Beverly Hills; Sage Publications, 1982) 11; Stanford M. Lyman, The Seven Deadly Sins: Social and Evil, 2nd ed. (Dix Hills, NY: General Hall, 1989) 5-52, 232-68.

4. Francis Hutcheson, A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, Collected Works of Francis Hutcheson, Vol. 4 (1747; Hildesheim: Olms, 1969) 322; E. A. J. Johnson, American

Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century (London: King, 1932) 107-8; Louis B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1935) 170-200, 230-1, 256-7; Richard B. Schlatter, The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders 1660-1688 (London: Oxford UP, 1940) 156-61, 238-9; Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia UP, 1946) 3-6; Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization 1606-1865, 5 vols. (New York: Viking, 1946-59) 1: 5; Eli F. Heckscher, Mercantilism, ed. E. F. Söderlund, trans. Mendel Shapiro, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (New York: Barnes, 1955) 2: 154-5; Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner's, 1958) 157-63; Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action: A Critique of Max Weber, ed. D. C. Coleman, trans. E. Geoffrey French (New York: Harper, 1961) 81-2; Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1965) 199-231; Timothy Hall Breen, "The Non-Existent Controversy: Puritan and Anglican Attitudes on Work and Wealth, 1600-1640," Church History 35 (1966): 279-83; J. A. W. Gunn, Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century (London: Routledge, 1969) 12; E. J. Hundert, "The Making of Homo Faber: John Locke between Ideology and History," Journal of the History of Ideas 33 (1972): 3-22.

5. See Chapter 2, n. 31. See also Chapter 5, n. 121.

6. Karl Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Volume I, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Penguin Books, 1990) 387n92; T. E. Gregory, "The Economics of Employment in England, 1660-1713," Economica 1 (1921): 47-8; Breen, "Non-Existent" 273-87; Charles George and Katherine George, "Protestantism and Capitalism in Pre-Revolutionary England," The Protestant Ethic and Modernization: A Comparative View, ed. S. N. Eisenstadt (New York: Basic, 1968) 174; J. D. Gould, Economic Growth in History: Survey and Analysis (London: Methuen, 1972) 83; Sommerville 70-81; Rahe 97-8. Heckscher and Samuelsson make a good case that "the doctrine of diligence and thrift" was not unique to Protestantism, Calvinism, and free religious sects, but rather a general feature of European mercantilism, shared by Catholic France as well. See Heckscher 2: 154-5; Samuelsson 81-2.

7. Winton U. Solberg, Redeem the Times: The Puritan Sabbath in Early America (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1977) ix-xi, 1-80. For examples, see Henry Pollexfen, A Discourse of Trade, Coyn, and Paper Credit: and of Ways and Means to Gain and Retain Riches (London, 1697) 49; Henry Fielding, An Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers and Related Writings, ed. Malvin R. Zirker (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1988) 80-1; William Temple, A Vindication of Commerce and



the Arts, A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on Commerce, ed. John R. McCulloch (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1966) 501; William Temple, An Essay on Trade and Commerce (London, 1770) 24, 28-9, 38, 40, 49, 55, 61-2; James Steuart, An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy, ed. Andrew S. Skinner, 2 vols. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1966) 2: 692. See also Edgar S. Furniss, The Position of the Laborer in a System of Nationalism: A Study in the Labor Theories of Later English Mercantilists (1920; New York: Kelley, 1957) 44-5, 135, 195n; Robert W. Malcolmson, Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973) 94.

8. This, of course, presumes some effort was necessary, which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political economists certainly did believe (as discussed below).

9. Of course, neo-classical economists now eschew the hedonistic or even psychological basis of their utilitarian calculation, simply lumping all such concepts under the concept of utility maximization.

10. See classic statements in W. Stanley Jevons, The Theory of Political Economy, 2nd ed. (London, 1879) 195; Alfred Marshall, Principles of Economics, 8th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1920) 527-8; Lionel Robbins, "On the Elasticity of Demand for Income in Terms of Effort," Economica 10 (1930): 123-9.

11. For a fuller analysis of this complex subject, see Bruce C. Baird, "Necessity and the 'Perverse' Supply of Labor in Pre-Classical British Political Economy," unpublished essay.

12. For a discussion of these issues, see M. A. Bienefeld, Working Hours in British Industry: An Economic History (London: Wiedenfeld, 1972); Stanley L. Engerman, "Coerced and Free Labor: Property Rights and the Development of the Labor Force," Explorations in Economic History 29 (1992): 1-29.

13. Paul H. Douglas, The Theory of Wages (1934; New York: Kelley, 1964) 245, 257; T. W. Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist and its Place in the Economic Thought of the Eighteenth Century," British Journal for the Philosophy of Science 4 (1953): 55-8; T. S. Ashton, An Economic History of England: The eighteenth Century (New York: Barnes, 1955) 205; Kenneth E. Boulding, Economic Analysis, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper, 1955) 223-5; Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society: A Study in the Integration of Economic and Social Theory (New York: Free, 1956) 86-8; James M. Buchanan, "The Backbending Supply Curve of Labor: An Example of Doctrinal Regression?," History of Political Economy 3

(1971): 385; Peter Mathias, The Transformation of England: Essays in the Economic and Social History of England in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Columbia UP, 1979) 148-9; Terence Hutchison, Before Adam Smith: The Emergence of Political Economy, 1662-1776 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988) 232, 402n2. Many of the economists and historians who use these concepts have gotten into the sloppy habit of using "backward-bending" or "backbending" as a generic term rather than the correct term "backward-sloping." The two terms are precise and have distinctly different meanings. Backward-bending implies that at lower incomes a forward-sloping, "normal" response dominates and only at higher incomes does a backward-sloping, "perverse" response come into play. No seventeenth- or eighteenth-century political economist ever suggested a backward-bending, short-run supply of labor.

14. See, e.g., Furniss 233-5; D. C. Coleman, "Labour in the English Economy of the Seventeenth Century," Economic History Review 2nd ser. 8 (1955): 290; William D. Grampp, Economic Liberalism, Vol. 1: The Beginnings (New York: Random, 1965) 65; Richard C. Wiles, "The Theory of Wages in Later English Mercantilism," Economic History Review 2nd ser. 21 (1968): 119, 124; Hundert, "Conception" 67-70; E. L. Jones, "English and European Agricultural Development 1650-1750," The Industrial Revolution, ed. R. M. Hartwell (New York: Barnes, 1970) 74; Bienefeld 24, 28; Marian Bowley, Studies in the History of Economic Thought before 1870 (London: Macmillan, 1973) 179-80; Samuel Hollander, The Economics of Adam Smith (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1973) 58, 251-2; Nathan Rosenberg, "Adam Smith on Profits--Paradox Lost and Regained," Journal of Political Economy 82 (1974): 1179; Harry Landreth, "The Economic Thought of Bernard Mandeville," History of Political Economy 7 (1975): 199-201; Ian Blanchard, "Labour Productivity and Work Psychology in the English Mining Industry, 1400-1600," Economic History Review 2nd ser. 31 (1978): 4; Mathias 148; John Rule, The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century English Industry (New York: St. Martin's, 1981) 52-5; Henry William Spiegel, The Growth of Economic Thought, 2nd ed. (Durham, N.C.: Duke UP, 1983) 130, 149, 251; Krishan Kumar, "Unemployment as a Problem in the Development of Industrial Societies: the English Experience," Sociological Review 32 (1984): 197; Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, "Policing the Early Modern Proletariat, 1450-1850," Proletarianization and Family History, ed. David Levine (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984) 190; David Levine, Reproducing Families: The Political Economy of English Population History (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1987) 21, 49; Colen Campbell, The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987) 231-2n9; Hutchison, Before Adam Smith 39. E. P. Thompson, however, rejects the application of such neo-classical economic concepts. See E. P.

Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past & Present 38 (1967): 80.

15. Furniss 118. Cf. Elizabeth W. Gilboy, Wages in Eighteenth Century England (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1934) 68-9.

16. Arthur Young, Farmer's Tour through the East of England (London, 1771) 4: 361, qtd. in Furniss 118.

17. Furniss 117-56; Lujo Brentano, Hours and Wages in Relation to Production, trans. Mrs. William Arnold (London, 1894) 2-3; G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz, The Cotton Trade in England and on the Continent, trans. Oscar S. Hall (London, 1895) 2-4, 7-8; William Kennedy, English Taxation 1640-1799: An Essay on Policy and Opinion (London: Bell, 1913) 116-8; Gregory 37-51; R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study (New York: Harcourt, 1926) 269-70; Edwin R. A. Seligman, The Shifting and Incidence of Taxation, 5th ed. (New York: Columbia UP, 1927) 46-55; E. Lipson, The Economic History of England, 3 vols. (London: Black, 1915-31) 3: 276-7; Gilboy 230-1; M. Beer, Early British Economics from the XIIIth to the middle of the XVIIIth Century (London: Allen, 1938) 172-8; Michael T. Wermel, The Evolution of the Classical Wage Theory (New York: Columbia UP, 1939) 3-14; Philip W. Buck, The Politics of Mercantilism (New York: Holt, 1942) 88-93; Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist" 55-8; Heckscher 2: 155-67; Bowley 179-80; Landreth 198-201; J. E. Crowley, This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974) 42-3; Joyce Oldham Appleby, Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978) 146; Mathias 150-1.

18. Adam Smith, An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, ed. Edwin Cannan (New York: Modern Library, 1937) 73, 81.

19. Marx, Capital 386n89; William Roscher, Principles of Political Economy, trans. John J. Lalor, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1882) 2: 73-5; Brentano 3; Schulze-Gaevernitz 4-7; Furniss 125-7, 176n; Gregory 45-6n; Seligman, Shifting 55-62; Lipson 3: 273-4; Jacob Viner, Studies in the Theory of International Trade (New York: Harper, 1937) 56-7; Wermel 4-5; Buck 93-4, 213; Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist" 52-77; Heckscher 2: 168-72; A. W. Coats, "Changing Attitudes to Labour in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," Economic History Review 2nd ser. 11 (1958): 35-51; Joseph J. Spengler, "Mercantilist and Physiocratic Growth Theory," Theories of Economic Growth, eds. Bert F. Hoselitz et al. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free, 1960) 22-3, 30-1; Grampp 61-2; Wiles 113-26; Hundert, "Conception" 240-97;



Bowley 179; Thomas A. Horne, The Social Thought of Bernard Mandeville: Virtue and Commerce in Early Eighteenth-Century England (New York: Columbia UP, 1978) 69; Appleby, Economic 147-8; Paul J. McNulty, The Origins and Development of Labor Economics: A Chapter in the History of Social Thought (Cambridge: MIT P, 1980) 32-5.

20. Grampp 68-74. See also Chapter 2, n. 38.

21. Max Savelle, Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind (New York: Knopf, 1948) 185; George H. Hildebrand, "The Idea of Progress: An Historical Analysis," The Idea of Progress: A Collection of Readings, ed. George H. Hildebrand (Berkeley: U of California P, 1949) 10-6; Chalk 332-47; Heckscher 1: 319-21; Grampp 68-74; Gunn, Politics 10, 29, 55-60, 110-26, 205-67; Crowley 41-3, 49, 101, 106, 117; Albert O. Hirschman, The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism before Its Triumph (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977); Joyce Appleby, "Modernization Theory and the Formation of Modern Social Theories in England and America," Comparative Studies in Society and History 20 (1978): 267-8, 284; Bruce B. Suttle, "The Passion of Self-Interest: The Development of the Idea and Its Changing Status," American Journal of Economics and Sociology 46 (1987): 459-72; Rahe 39. See also related discussion of liberty in Chapter 2. Numerous studies suggest an increasing use of individualist behavioral analysis following the Renaissance, focusing on the ways humans actually behave rather than the ways humans ought to behave. Such distinctions distort the degree to which past and present scholars have always recognized the distinction between normative and actual behavior. See Appendix IV.

22. See Baird, "Necessity."

23. See, e.g., Schulze-Gaevernitz 4-7; Coats, "Changing" 35-51; Wiles 119, 124; Neil McKendrick, "The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England," The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England (London: Europa, 1982) 19. See also discussion below of Adam Smith.

24. Fielding 115-8; Roscher 2: 73-4n; Seligman, Shifting 50-2, 55-6; Gilboy 231; Viner, Studies 91n; E. A. J. Johnson, Predecessors of Adam Smith: The Growth of British Economic Thought (1937; New York: Kelley, 1965) 252; Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist" 56; Eugene Rotwein, ed., Writings on Economics, by David Hume (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1955) xc; Coats, "Changing" 36-46, 51; Wiles 119, 124-6.



25. Sir Walter Harris, Remarks on the Affairs and Trade of England and Ireland (London, 1691) 53-4; Jacob Vanderlint, Money Answers all Things, ed. Jacob H. Hollander (1734; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914) 29; Berkeley, qtd. in Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist" 55-6; Hutcheson, qtd. in Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist" 57n; Nathaniel Forster, An Enquiry into the Causes of the Present High Price of Provisions (London, 1767) 56-62; Richard Price, Observations on Reversionary Payments, ed. William Morgan, 6th ed. (London, 1803) 2: 147-8; James Anderson, Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry Chiefly Intended to Promote the Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland (1777; New York: Kelley, 1968) 277, 293. See also Roscher 2: 73-4n; Furniss 136, 173, 176n; Seligman, Shifting 55-62; Johnson, Predecessors 287; Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist"; Hutchison, Before Adam Smith 59, 232, 245-6.

26. See Baird, "Necessity." I do not wish to claim that no seventeenth- or eighteenth-century political economist made a definite claim for positive elasticity of effort, but simply that any such statements were extremely rare, and high-wage theory did not specifically claim positive elasticity and, indeed, in general adopted a backward-sloping supply curve of effort.

27. [Charles Davenant], An Essay upon Ways and Means of Supplying the War, 2nd ed. (London, 1695) 87-8, 143, 148; [Daniel Defoe], Giving Alms no Charity, and Employing the Poor a Grievance to the Nation, A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Economical Tracts, ed. J. R. McCulloch (London, 1859) 55-7; [Daniel Defoe], A Plan of the English Commerce (1728; Oxford: Blackwell, 1928) 24-5; Robert Nugent, Considerations upon a Reduction of the Landed Tax (London, 1749) 17, qtd. in Seligman, Shifting 58; Josiah Tucker, A Brief Essay on the Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively attend France and Great Britain, with regard to Trade, 3rd ed., A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on Commerce, ed. John R. McCulloch (New York: Kelley, 1966) 339, 351-2n; Josiah Tucker, Josiah Tucker: A Selection from His Economic and Political Writings, ed. Robert Schuyler (New York: Columbia UP, 1931) 245; Sir Matthew Decker, An Essay on the Causes of the Decline of the Foreign Trade, 4th ed. (1751; Clifton, NJ: Kelley, 1973) 58, 66; Benjamin Franklin, The Works of Benjamin Franklin, ed. Jared Sparks, 10 vols. (Chicago, 1882) 2: 359, 368, 371, 402; Malachy Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved, 2 vols. (London, 1757) 1: 43; Forster 58-60; Thomas Mortimer, The Elements of Commerce, Politics and Finances (London, 1772), qtd. in Coats, "Changing" 41-3; Considerations on the Policy, Commerce, and Circumstances of the Kingdom (London, 1771),

qtd. in Coats, "Changing" 41-2. See also Schulze-Gaevernitz 5-6; Grampp 71-2.

28. Sir William Petty, The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, ed. Charles Henry Hull, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1899) 1: 270, 307-8; Bernard Mandeville, The Fable of the Bees: or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits, ed. F. B. Kaye, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1924) 1: 239; Fielding 80-4; Francis Townsend, A Dissertation on the Poor Laws, A Select Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, ed. J. R. McCulloch (London, 1859) 404, 415. See also Kennedy 83-93; Furniss 87, 145-56, 222-9; Joseph A. Schumpeter, A History of Economic Analysis, ed. Elizabeth Boody Schumpeter (New York: Oxford UP, 1954) 267n; Heckscher 2: 166-7; Keith Thomas, "Work and Leisure," Past & Present 29 (1964): 61-2.

29. John Cooke [Cook], Unum Necessarium: or The Poore Mans Case (London, 1648) 70. Bergen Evans identifies the earliest use in Richard Franck, Northern Memoirs (1658). See Bergen Evans, Dictionary of Quotations (New York: Delacorte, 1968) 480. An early restatement of classical themes can be found in Francis Bacon, Colours of Good, and Evil: "Necessity... hath many time an advantage, because it awaketh the powers of the mind and strengtheneth endeavour." Qtd. in W. Francis H. King, Classical and Foreign Quotations (New York: Ungar, 1965) 372. Cf. John Taylor, The Penniless Pilgrimage (1618): "Wit's whetstone, Want, there made us quickly learn." Qtd. in W. Gurney Benham, Putnam's Complete Book of Quotations and Household Words (New York: Putnam's, n.d.) 356a. As far as I can tell, the Latin proverb "Mater artium necessitas" is a seventeenth-century creation, but its ubiquitous and simultaneous appearance in numerous countries along with its vulgar equivalents has not been fully explored or explained. Bartlett cites the Latin phrase as the source of the English phrase but it is quite possible the Latin phrase came originally from the English. See John Bartlett, Familiar Quotations, 15th ed. (Boston: Little, 1980) 134. Cooke, in the margins of his text, prints only a mixed Latin-Greek phrase that translates as "Necessity taught the Parrot [to say] 'Hello,'" which he perhaps drew from Persius. See Thomas Benfield Harbottle, Anthology of Classical Quotations (San Antonio: Scylax, 1984) 240. The earliest mention of the Latin phrase so far discovered is a 1670 German collection of adages. See King 194. The closest classical aphorism I have identified is "Artis magistra necessitas," or "Necessity is the mistress of the arts," attributed to Pliny the Younger. See Brown, Latin Gems 153.

30. On Cook as one of the early proponents of interest politics, see Gunn, Politics 7-8, 37n.

31. For low-wage theorists, see Sir William Temple, The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart., 4 vols. (London, 1814) 1: 164, 180; 3: 2; John Houghton Husbandry and Trade Improv'd, ed. Richard Bradley, 2nd ed., 4 vols. (London, 1728) 4: 56, 382-93; John Houghton, A Collection for Improvement of Husbandry and Trade, 4 vols. (1693-1703; Farnborough, Hants., England: Gregg, 1969) 25 Oct. 1695, 15 Nov. 1695, 20 Dec. 1695, 29 May 1696, 3 June 1698, 12 May 1699; Mandeville 1: 183-9; Temple, Vindication 498, 500, 511-2, 542; Temple, Essay 9, 15, 26-30; Arthur Young, Political Arithmetic (1774; New York: Kelley, 1967) 110-1; Townsend 403-4, 415-6, 443. John Houghton links the concept to an old English phrase "Need makes the old wife trot." See Houghton, Husbandry 4: 387; Houghton, Collection 23 Apr. 1703; Benham 814a. For high-wage theorists, see Cooke 70-1; John Collins, A Plea for the Bringing in of Irish Cattel, and keeping out of Fish caught by Foreigners (London, 1680) 10; Sir Josiah Child, A New Discourse of Trade (London, 1693) 23-4, 42-3; Defoe, Plan 25; E. P. Hutchinson, The Population Debate: The Development of Conflicting Theories up to 1900 (Boston: Houghton, 1967) 54-5, 62-3, 68, 100-1; David Hume, Writings on Economics, ed. Eugene Rotwein (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1955) 17-18, 84-5; Tucker, Josiah Tucker 255; Postlethwayt, Commercial Interest 2: 367; Forster 56, 168-9; Anderson 277, 293. See also Viner, Studies 91n; Johnson, Predecessors 250-2; Grampp 72-3; Glacken 587; Ronald L. Meek, Social Science and the Ignoble Savage (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976) 157; Appleby, Economic 73-98; Drew R. McCoy, "Benjamin Franklin's Vision of a Republican Political Economy for America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 624-7.

32. Cf. Benham 814a, 826ab.

33. On the multifarious definitions of nature in the classical era, see Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity (1935; New York: Octagon, 1965) 11-3, 185-6, 447-56.

34. Cyril Bailey, The Greek Atomists and Epicurus: A Study (1928; New York: Russell, 1964) 46-52, 120-1; Jonathan Barnes, "Reason and Necessity in Leucippus," Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on Democritus, Vol. I (Xanthi: International Democritean Foundation, 1984) 151-5; Nikolai Iribadjakov, "The Philosophical-Historical and Sociological Views of Democritus," Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on Democritus, Vol. I (Xanthi: International Democritean Foundation, 1984) 415-22; Henry Vyverberg, Human Nature, Cultural Diversity, and the French Enlightenment (New York: Oxford UP, 1989) 25.



35. See, e.g., fragments of Democritus in Eric Havelock, The Liberal Temper in Greek Politics (New Haven: Yale UP, 1957) 115-24.

36. C. D. Yonge, An English-Greek Lexicon (New York, 1870) 371, 416, Appendix xxvii; The Classic Greek Dictionary in Two Parts, Greek-English and English-Greek, 2 vols. (New York, [1896]) 1: 48, 788, 2: 162; Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, comps., A Greek-English Lexicon, rev. ed., 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925-40) 1: 100-1; 2: 2002-3; Gregory Vlastos, "Ethics and Physics in Democritus, II," Philosophical Review 55 (1946): 54-5; Gregory Vlastos, "On the Pre-History in Diodorus," American Journal of Philology 67 (1946): 56-8, esp. 56n21; Richard Broxton Onians, The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1951) 332-3; Havelock 117; Edelstein 23n6. Thomas Cole, in analyzing the widesweeping impact of Democritean anthropology makes the subtle distinction between chreia-usus (utilitarian value) being man's true teacher and chreia-egestas, simply "the impelling force behind his continuing efforts to find new usus for the various components of his environment." However, Cole in emphasizing the utilitarian aspect, never clarifies what role egestas plays in the utilitarian calculus. See Thomas Cole, Democritus and the Sources of Greek Anthropology (1967; Atlanta: Scholars, 1990) 41n27, 47. Glacken's work, the only monograph to attempt an analysis of the continuity of environmentalism over time, never clarifies these two distinct meanings of necessity, interpreting alternatively chreia and anankē as the mother of invention. Cf. Glacken 547, 607.

37. Classical scholars employing this Democritean framework include Protagoras (a predecessor of Democritus), Isocrates, Aristotle, Plutarch, Maximus of Tyre, Xenocrates, Vitruvius, Cicero, the Epicureans, Lucretius, Diodorus Siculus, Anaxagoras, Archelaus, Horace, and Livy. See Cicero, Livy in Craufurd Tait Ramage, Familiar Quotations from Latin Authors (London, [1895]) 119, 344; Bailey 122, 187-8; Lovejoy and Boas 192-221, 231-42, 244-59, 371-2, 375, 403; Havelock 115-24; Glacken 64-5, 73-4, 87-91, 95-6, 198; Edelstein 23-5, 83, 86, 88-9, 130-1, 136, 140; A. W. H. Adkins, From the Many to the One: A Study of Personality and Views of Human Nature in the Context of Ancient Greek Society, Values, and Beliefs (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1970) 92-7, 113-4, 123-5; Anne-Marie De Waal Malefijt, Images of Man: A History of Anthropological Thought (New York: Knopf, 1974) 6-8; Michael Landmann, De Homine: Man in the Mirror of His Thought, trans. David J. Parent (Normal, IL: Applied Literature, 1979) 27-9, 42; Cole 9, 28n5, 42-3, 50-22, 138-43. Although Plato stresses the role of chreia in the rise of the first arts, one should not make too much of Plato's rather equivocal



treatment of necessity that reflects many seemingly contradictory positions. See Lovejoy and Boas 155-64; Hildebrand 6.

38. Brown, Latin Gems 153; Harbottle 154.

39. Limited recognition of diffusion does not seriously affect this interpretation. See Edelstein 88; Cole 57-8.

40. Hildebrand 5; Kenneth E. Bock, The Acceptance of Histories: Toward a Perspective for Social Science (Berkeley: U of California P, 1956) 48-9.

41. Lovejoy and Boas 174-9, 186-9. Lovejoy and Boas believe that Aristotle turned earlier ideas upside down stressing nature as a terminal rather than initial state, Aristotle's view was quite consistent with a Democritean view of necessity with its clear idea of "intrinsic" nature, neither initial nor final but evolving. For a similar dichotomization applied to medieval thought, see Brian Tierney, Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England (Berkeley: U of California P, 1959) 30-1.

42. Cicero, qtd. in Ramage, Latin 149; Lovejoy and Boas 244-59, 376. The same points would later be emphasized by Gracius Faliscus and, after the Renaissance, by Gelli and Montaigne.

43. Thucydides, qtd. in Ramage, Greek 515; Solon, Pliny the Elder, qtd. in Harbottle 60, 482; Lovejoy and Boas 9-11, 149, 392-3. Democritus, at least on an ideal normative basis, stood with the primitivists. See Lovejoy and Boas 391; Harbottle 478. The Cynics and Stoics as well as the Epicureans, Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch, defined "necessary" goods as satisfied with little labor (since abundant in nature), suggesting that increased labor over time was due to demand for superfluities. See Lovejoy and Boas 152-4, 270, 417-8; Edelstein 137n12.

44. Lovejoy and Boas 37, 41-2, 47-8, 58, 58-9n75, 69, 97; Cole 1-2, 12. Dicaearchus in the first true appearance of four stages theory attributed the driving force to the desire for superfluities and craving for distinction. See Lovejoy and Boas 93-6.

45. Lovejoy and Boas 119-22, 132, 268-74, 349-50, 392-3; Edelstein 42-3; Cole 10, 22n16.

46. See Livy, Horace, Cicero, Juvenal, and Justinian, qtd. in Brown, Latin Gems 31, 78-9, 92, 178-9, 190; Solon, qtd. in Harbottle 481.

47. Qtd. in Lovejoy and Boas 260, 271.

48. Horace, qtd. in Brown, Latin Gems 81; Manilius, Virgil, qtd. in Ramage, Latin 382, 743; Aristophanes, Herodotus, Plato, Thucydides, qtd. in Ramage, Greek 63-4, 213-4, 427, 515; Lucan, Juvenal, Euripides, Antiphanes, qtd. in Harbottle 68, 253, 400, 477; Ovid, Juvenal, Eur. Telephus, Menander, qtd. in King 194, 235; Seneca, Silius Italicus, Ovid, Tacitus, qtd. in Benham 528b, 531a, 548a, 569a; Lucretius, qtd. in Lovejoy and Boas 228.

49. Qtd. in Harbottle 478.

50. Benham 564b; Evans 480.

51. Edelstein 99.

52. Virgil, qtd. in Ramage, Latin 742-3; Lovejoy and Boas 25-31, 371; Barry Gordon, "Aristotle and Hesiod: The Economic Problem in Greek Thought," Review of Social Economy 21 (1963): 147-51; Hildebrand 33; Glacken 131-2; Cole 9.

53. This view was expressed in Epicurus, Philo Judaeus, Seneca, Cicero, Pliny, Virgil, and later in Origen and many of the Church fathers. See Lovejoy and Boas 397, 402; Edelstein 135-6; Glacken 185, 293-302; Cole 51n12.

54. Pitirim Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York: Harper, 1928) 588; Glacken 87-91, 95-6, 432-3. Several scholars have noted the similarity of the classical concept of "necessity" and Arnold Toynbee's concept of "challenge," particularly as applied to such environmental interpretations of the rise of civilization. But one should note that Toynbee believed the intermediate challenge (like a temperate climate) provided the most efficient challenge, a view more in line with Enlightenment thinkers than classical scholars who tended to ignore any negative impact of too harsh an environment or too severe a challenge. See Landmann 29; Glacken 88, 91, 547, 597. See further Appendix III.

55. Whittaker 66.

56. Albert Augustus Trever, A History of Greek Economic Thought (1916; Philadelphia: Porcupine, 1978) 77-8.

57. Edelstein 100-1.

58. Curtius, Virgil, qtd. in Ramage, Latin 164, 166, 743; Aristophanes, Theocritus, qtd. in Ramage, Greek 63, 497, Harbottle 478; Pliny the Younger, qtd. in Brown, Latin Gems 153; Apuleius, Plautus, qtd. in Harbottle 207, 220; Appollonius, Persius, qtd. in Benham 569b, 617b. Among the Church

fathers, Arnobius attributed the arts not to reason or God, but "'the inventions of paupers--necessity.'" Qtd. in Glacken 180. Paul Rahe, noting the lack of interest in inventions in classical Greece (which he attributes to the distaste for all aspects of oikonomia), concludes that "in antiquity, to the extent that technical advances were made at all, necessity--military necessity above all else--does really seem to have been the mother of invention." See Rahe 95-7, esp. 97. A cyclical view of progress built on necessity was well captured by an ancient Welsh round, ascribed to the sixth-century St. Cadoc: "Poverty begets Effort; Effort begets Success..." Qtd. in Benham 434b.

59. Lovejoy and Boas 10, 119.

60. Qtd. in Harbottle 390, 452, 478; Brown, Latin Gems 185. Cf. Thucydides, qtd. in Ramage, Greek 513; Epicurus, Plutarch, qtd. in Harbottle 390. See also John Sekora, Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1977) 23-62. On medieval and early modern understanding of the relative nature of poverty, see further Chapter 2. Cf. King 261. Xenophon's Socrates even noticed that "'many private individuals who possess a great deal of money nonetheless consider themselves so poor that they subject themselves to every sort of toil (ponos) and risk (kindunos) in the expectation of getting more.'" Qtd. in Rahe 101.

61. King 261.

62. Qtd. in King 225, 261.

63. Lovejoy and Boas 371, 377.

64. Qtd. in Ramage, Greek 515-6.

65. Cole 2, 6.

66. See, e.g., Hoxie Neale Fairchild, The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism (1928; New York: Russell, 1961); Lois Whitney, Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century (1934; New York: Octagon, 1965); Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1964) 371-2; Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea," The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism, eds. Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1972) 3-38; Gaile McGregor, The Noble Savage in the New World Garden: Notes Toward a Syntactics of Place (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State



U Popular P, 1988); Stella Cro, The Noble Savage: Allegory of Freedom (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 1990).

67. See, e.g., J. B. Bury, The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Origin and Growth (1920; New York: Dover, 1987); Whitney, Primitivism; Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea (1936; New York: Harper, 1960) 242-89; Hildebrand 3-30; Arthur Alphonse Ekirch, Jr., The Idea of Progress in America, 1815-1860 (1944; New York: AMS, 1969); Bock 67-85; Charles Van Doren, The Idea of Progress (New York: Praeger, 1967); David Bidney, Theoretical Anthropology (New York: Schoken, 1967) 185, 193, 204; Sidney Pollard, The Idea of Progress: History and Society (New York: Basic, 1968); John Passmore, The Perfectibility of Man (New York: Scribner's, 1970) 195-259; John Hurrell Crook, The Evolution of Human Consciousness (Oxford: Clarendon, 1980) 18-9; George W. Stocking, Jr., Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology, 2nd ed. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1982) 26-7, 35-8, 114-7; David Spadafora, The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth-Century Britain (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990). See also Chapter 8.

68. Benham 9b.

69. Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, trans. Olive Wyon, 2 vols. (1931; New York: Macmillan, 1949) 2: 641; John White, qtd. in Johnson, American 38; Schlatter 146-57; Irvin G. Wyllie, The Self-made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1954) 22-3, 177n6; Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, 2nd ed. (Glencoe: Free, 1957) 168; Fred Somkin, Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815-1860 (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1967) 11-54; Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 24 (1967): 5-9; Peter N. Carroll, Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier 1629-1700 (New York: Columbia UP, 1969) 15-6, 66-82.

70. Sorokin 588; Joseph J. Spengler, French Predecessors of Malthus: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Wage and Population Theory (Durham: Duke UP, 1942) 110-69; D. E. C. Eversley, Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate (1959; Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1975) 23-35; Elizabeth Rawson, The Spartan Tradition in European Thought (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969); Thomas 218; Simeon M. Wade, Jr., "The Idea of Luxury in Eighteenth-Century England," diss., Harvard U, 1968; Sydney Anglo, Machiavelli: A Dissection (New York: Harcourt, 1969) 216-37; Sekora, Luxury; J.G.A. Pocock, The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition (Princeton: Princeton UP,



1975) 430-1, 443-5, 491-2; J. A. W. Gunn, Beyond Liberty and Property: The Process of Self-Recognition in Eighteenth-Century Political Thought (Kingston: McGill-Queen's UP, 1983) 99-101; Malcolm Jack, Corruption & Progress: The Eighteenth-Century Debate (New York: AMS, 1989) 3-4, 20. For American examples, see Crowley 2-3, 44-5, 50-95; Drew R. McCoy, The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980); James C. Riley, Population Thought in the Age of the Demographic Revolution (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic, 1985) 55-6, 162n82.

71. Cooke 71; Benham 77a, 78a, 312a, 806b, 861a; Evans 480. Cf. Rahe 263.

72. Whittaker 60; Leonard F. Dean, "Bodin's Methodus in England before 1625," Studies in Philology 39 (1942): 160-6; Spengler, "Mercantilist" 323; Hodgen 275-88, 485-6; Glacken 370-1, 432-3, 449-56, 543-8, 572-6, 587, 596-8, 602-3, 608, 617-8; Fred W. Voget, A History of Ethnology (New York: Holt, 1975) 79-80. For an early example, see "Polices to Reduce this Realme of Englande unto a Prosperus Wealthe and Estate," Tudor Economic Documents, Vol. 3, eds. R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power (London: Longmans, 1924) 328-9.

73. Lewis J. Carey, Franklin's Economic Views (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Dora, 1928) 47-8; Hutchinson 54-5, 62-3, 68, 76-7, 82, 84, 89, 99-103, 109; Meek 88, 93, 101, 104, 117-9, 125, 133-4, 157-8, 194-6; McCoy 20-1. For continuing environmentalist influence on English political economy, especially among low-wage theorists, see, e.g., Petty 1: 34; Temple, Works 1: 165, 180; Houghton, Collection 21 Feb. 1695/6, 3 June 1698; Mandeville 1: 182-4; John Hervey, Some Remarks on the Minute Philosopher (London, 1732) 48; Temple, Vindication 501-2; Temple, Essay 7-9. See also Glacken 587, 596-8, 602-3, 608, 645.

74. "Necessity," OED, 1933 ed. One should however distinguish this necessity consensus from late eighteenth-century "necessitarianism," the theory that action is determined by antecedent causes, an idea that revolved around Democritean questions of determinism and free will. Although the two distinct ideas of necessity were undoubtedly as often confounded in the early modern era as in the classical era, and undoubtedly the power of logical necessity reinforced the power of necessity as an operative value, here we will only consider necessity as relative poverty. On the persistence of this mechanistic side of necessity through the seventeenth and into the twentieth centuries, see Sorokin 3-62.

75. On the impact of knowledge of other cultures, see Hodgen 208-9, 373-5; John Howland Rowe, "The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology," American Anthropologist 67 (1965): 1-20; De Waal Malefijt 47.

76. For low-wage theorists, see Petty 1: 201; Temple, Works 1: 164; Houghton, Collection 15 Mar. 1699/1700; Steuart, Inquiry 1: 310; Townsend 403. For high-wage theorists, see Berkeley, quoted in Hutchison, "Berkeley's Querist" 59; Hume 85; Forster 37-9; Tucker, Josiah Tucker 245; Anderson 419-20. See also Crowley 42-3.

77. On the present status of the concept of necessity, see Chapter 8 and Appendix III.

78. For Virgil's similar interpretation of an equally violent dispossession that ended the economic state of nature, see Lovejoy and Boas 272-3.

79. Sir Thomas Smith, A Discourse of the Commonweal of This Realm of England, ed. Mary Dewar (1549; Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1969) 22, 42-3, 55-60, 80-2, 118.

80. T. Smith, Discourse 58-60.

81. T. Smith, Discourse 22, 42-3, 49, 80-2, 118-9.

82. T. Smith, Discourse 66, 68, 80-2. However, Smith also noted the increasing demand for luxury imports touched even the lower rural classes, showing how fashion converted luxuries into necessities. Cf. T. Smith, Discourse 122.

83. For low-wage theorists, see Petty 1: lxxii, 59, 255-71; Temple, Works 1: 133-51, 164-80; Thomas Manley, Usury at Six per Cent. examined (London, 1669) 25; Houghton, Collection 25 Oct. 1695, 1 Nov. 1695, 15 Nov. 1695, 20 Dec. 1695; Mandeville 1: 183-9. For high-wage theorists, see Thomas Mun, England's Treasure by Forraign Trade, or the Ballance of our Forraign Trade is the Rule of our Treasure, A Select Collection of Early English Tracts on Commerce (1664; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970) 181-5, 191-5; Davenant 144-5; Tucker, Josiah Tucker 63-4; Postlethwayt, Commercial Interest 2: 366; Forster 10-2, 23-4, 57-8; Franklin 2: 373-4. See also Furniss 101-4; Schulze-Gaevernitz 7; Seligman, Shifting 50; Wermel 3-4. Indeed, some scholars went so far as to speak of taxes instead of necessity as the primary motive force, following a classic statement of the Dutchman Pieter de la Court that excise taxes "will excite the commonality to ingenuity, diligence, and frugality." Or, as William Temple of Trowbridge put it: "High taxes promote invention, industry and frugality". See Pieter de la Court, The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republick of Holland

and West Friesland (1746; New York: Arno, 1972) 92; Temple, Essay 9-11, 49-50; Houghton, Collection 23 Apr. 1703. For the influence of Machiavelli on de la Court, see Eco Haitzman Muller, "A Controversial Republican: Dutch Views on Machiavelli in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Machiavelli and Republicanism, eds. Gisela Bock et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 254-7.

84. Collins 11.

85. See, e.g., Houghton, Collection 4 Mar. 1697/8; Temple, Vindication 546; Young, Political Arithmetic 27-31; [Joshua Gee], The Trade and Navigation of Great-Britain Considered (1729; New York: Arno, 1972) Conclusion 15.

86. T. Smith, Discourse 49-50, 80-1, 87.

87. Child 23-4; Franklin 2: 255-6; Vanderlint 32; Decker 65-6; Postlethwayt, Commercial Interest 1: 13. See also Whitaker 551-2. Henry Robinson more emphatically stressed both the normative and target income basis of such behavior, suggesting it was "much better for a merchant to retire directly he has won a competence in order that opportunity shall be always free and that wealth may not be canalized in a few families." See Henry Robinson, Englands Safety in Trades Encrease (London, 1641) 48-9; W. K. Jordan, Men of Substance: A Study of the Thought of Two English Revolutionaries Henry Parker and Henry Robinson (1942; New York: Octagon, 1967) 220. Schumpeter, critiquing Child, believed this concept, "though not quite indefensible, looks very much like an analytic blunder," but clearly many early political economists accepted this "necessity" argument. See Schumpeter 273.

88. [Daniel Defoe], An Essay upon Projects (1697; Menston, England: Scolar, 1969) 1, 6.

89. Henry Martyn, Considerations on the East-India Trade, A Select Collection of Early English Tracts on Commerce, ed. J. R. McCulloch (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970) 590-1. Sir Thomas Smith and John Cook had earlier argued that dear corn and inflation forced employers to reduce their number of menial servants, reduce consumption, and increase their own labor. See T. Smith, Discourse 81; Cooke 5. Other high-wage theorists stressing anti-monopolistic competition include Tucker and Postlethwayt. See Tucker, Josiah Tucker 244; Postlethwayt, Commercial Interest 2: 387, 408, 415; Malachy Postlethwayt, Great-Britain's True System (1757; Farnborough, Hants., England: Gregg, 1968) 237. See also Appleby, Economic 173.



90. For explicit recognition of the high-wage argument, see Petty 2: 592-3. Almost all high- and low-wage theorists supported higher standards of living for English workers compared to workers from other nations. See "Polices" 328-9; Temple, Works 1: 146-7; W. Harris, Remarks 53-4; Defoe, Plan 27-8; Arthur Young, Travels in France during the Years 1787, 1788 & 1789, ed. Maxwell Constantia (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1950) 311. Indeed Arthur Young, immediately after calling everyone an idiot who would doubt him, stated "'I do not mean, that the poor of England are to be kept like the poor of France, but, the state of the country considered, they must (like all mankind) be in poverty or they will not work.'" Qtd. in Furniss 118. See also Coats, "Changing" 45-6.

91. Some modern scholars attribute the regular observances of indolence to poor nutrition and thus reduced labor capacity. See, e.g., Herman Freudenberger and Gaylord Cummins, "Health, Work, and Leisure before the Industrial Revolution," Explorations in Economic History 13 (1976): 1-12. Although little hard evidence is available from the seventeenth century, historical analyses of nutritional status (based on height data) from the late eighteenth century, while revealing some decline in living standards among English laborers, show no decline sufficient to affect daily work load. See Roderick Floud, Kenneth Wachter, and Annabel Gregory, Height, Health and History: Nutritional Status in the United Kingdom, 1750-1980 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 272-4, 303, 326; Stephen Nicholas and Richard H. Steckel, "Heights and Living Standards of English Workers During the Early Years of Industrialization, 1770-1815," Journal of Economic History 51 (1991): 937-57. But even if malnutrition was important in the medium- and long-run it does not explain the phenomenon of reduced labor supply in periods of good harvests and vice versa.

92. For low-wage theorists, see John Houghton, England's Great Happiness, A Select Collection of Early English Tracts on Commerce, ed. J. R. McCulloch (1677; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1970) 261-2; Husbandry 4: 56; Collection 1 Nov. 1695; 4 Mar. 1697/8; 19 Mar. 1702/3; 9 Apr. 1703; Petty 1: 192; James Steuart, The Works, Political, Metaphysical, and Chronological, 6 vols. (London, 1805) 2: 159n; Steuart, Inquiry 1: 118; Young, Political Arithmetic 100-1n. In contrast to low-wage theorists who tended to stress the role of institutional intervention in stimulating new wants, high-wage theorists found new wants part of a more "natural" process and argued for removal of institutional constraints. However, both high- and low-wage theorists recognized the power of emulation and treated increases in "necessaries" and "conveniencies" as equivalent to an increase in



"necessity" that promoted increased industry. See Coats, "Changing" 48-51; Appleby, Economic 169-72; Grampp 73.

93. Sorokin 588; Alvin W. Gouldner, Enter Plato: Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory (New York: Basic, 1965) 238-41; K. J. Dover, Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle (Berkeley: U of California P, 1974) 109-12; Reuven Brenner, History--The Human Gamble (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983) 41, 218n16; Rahe 80, 95.

94. See, e.g., Fielding 120.

95. Cooke 5, 27; Temple, Works 1: 164; Massie, qtd. in W. Cunningham, The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times: The Mercantile System, 6th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1925) 577-8.

96. T. Smith, Discourse 22, 42-3, 80-2; "Polices" 329; Cooke 5, 7, 24-5; Vanderlint 28.

97. Harrington, qtd. in James Bonar, Theories of Population from Raleigh to Arthur Young (New York: Greenberg, 1931) 57; Carew Reynel, The True English Interest: or an Account of the Chief National Improvements (London, 1674) 64-5; Collins 11; Child Preface 12; Houghton, Collection 22 Apr. 1698; 22 Nov. 1700; Vanderlint 33; Sir John Barnard, qtd. in Kennedy 116n; Fielding 119; Decker 16, 70; Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest 1: 13-4; 2: 377; Temple, Vindication 508; Franklin 2: 258, 312, 444; Anderson 293; William Paley, The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy (1785; New York: Garland, 1978) 615-6. See also citations in Wermel 36-9, 57, 116; Coats, "Changing" 44n3. Although definitely a low-wage theorist, Pieter de la Court worried that high taxes would lead to widespread emigration. See de la Court 92-4.

98. Samuel Purchas, qtd. in Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1956) 117; Temple, Works 1: 164-5.

99. Harrington, qtd. in Bonar 57; Vanderlint 18-9, 33; Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest 1: 14; Temple, Vindication 552; Steuart, Works 1: 205.

100. R. Dunning, qtd. in Dorothy Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Social and Administrative History (1926; London: Routledge, 1969) 29; Vanderlint 33; Houghton, Collection 3 June 1698, 22 Nov. 1700; Defoe, Giving Alms; Decker 58-9; Franklin 2: 358, 367-8; Townsend, Dissertation. See also Furniss 129n; Gregory 41-2.

101. Child 29-30; Houghton, Collection 1 June 1692, 29 May 1696, 22 Apr. 1698; Vanderlint 28, 71; Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest 1: 19-20; Franklin 2: 311-21, 436; Forster 46; Young, Political Arithmetic 61-9, 77, 290-3; A. Smith, Wealth 70-3, 78-9, 146. For an overview, see Bonar, Theories; R. R. Kuczynski, "British Demographers' Opinions on Fertility, 1660 to 1760," Political Arithmetic: A Symposium of Population Studies, ed. Lancelot Hogben (London: Allen, 1938) 283-327. This idea has historically been most strongly associated with Richard Cantillon, although the idea clearly preceded him. See Richard Cantillon, Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général, ed. and trans. Henry Higgs (London: Macmillan, 1931). For the great influence of Cantillon's ideas on the development of classical political economy, see Robert Legrand, Richard Cantillon: Un Mercantiliste Précurseur des Physiocrates (Paris: Giard, 1900); Edwin Cannan, A Review of Economic Theory (London: King, 1929) 349-50; René Gonnard, Histoire des Doctrines Économiques (Paris: Librairie Valois, 1930) 172-82; Arthur Eli Monroe, Early Economic Thought: Selections from Economic Literature Prior to Adam Smith (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1930) 246; Wermel 48-53, 112-8; Spengler, French Predecessors 110-69; Schumpeter 218-9; Eversley 23-35, 50-1, 89; William Letwin, The Origins of Scientific Economics: English Economic Thought 1660-1776 (London: Methuen, 1963) 221; Hutchinson 149-51; Bowley 181-2; Salim Rashid, "Political Economy as Moral Philosophy: Dugald Stewart of Edinburgh," Australian Economic Papers 26 (1987): 153; Robert F. Hebert, "In Search of Economic Order: French Predecessors of Adam Smith," Pre-Classical Economic Thought: From the Greeks to the Scottish Enlightenment, ed. S. Todd Lowry (Boston: Kluwer, 1987) 193-8; Peter D. Groenewegen, "The International Foundations of Classical Political Economy in the Eighteenth Century: An Alternative Perspective," Pre-Classical Economic Thought: From the Greeks to the Scottish Enlightenment, ed. S. Todd Lowry (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1987) 215; Hutchinson 156-9; Jürg Niehans, A History of Economic Theory: Classic Contributions, 1720-1980 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1990) 24-33. See also the special Fall 1985 issue of the Journal of Libertarian Studies devoted to Cantillon, "the neglected founder of modern economics."

102. Cooke 28; Houghton, Collection 11 Mar. 1697/8; Steuart, Inquiry 2: 400-1; Temple, Essay vii-viii, 50; Anderson 293-4; Young, Political Arithmetic 35, 41. See also Coats, "Changing" 44n3; D. Marshall 29-30.

103. Francis Bacon, The Essays; or, Counsels, Civil and Moral of Francis Bacon (New York, 1883) 91-100; Petty 1: 22-3; Temple, Works 1: 23-30.

104. Again echoing a position repeatedly taken by scholars from Plato to his own time, Sir Walter Raleigh in his Discourse of War in General stated: "When any country is overlaid by the multitude which live upon it, there is a natural necessity compelling it to disburden itself and lay the load upon others, by right or wrong, for (to omit the danger of pestilence, often visiting them which live in throngs), there is no misery that urgeth men so violently unto desperate courses and contempt of death as the torments and threats of famine. Wherefore, the war that is grounded on general, remediless necessity, may be termed the general and remediless or necessary war." See Sir Walter Raleigh, Discourse of War in General, qtd. in Charles Emil Stangeland, Pre-Malthusian Doctrines of Population: A Study in the History of Economic Theory (1904; New York: Kelley, 1966) 112; Hutchinson 34. For similar statements by Machiavelli, Hobbes, de la Court, and Malthus, see de la Court 39; Thomas Robert Malthus, The Works of Thomas Robert Malthus, eds. E. A. Wrigley and David Souden, 8 vols. (London: William Pickering, 1986) 1: 21-2; Bonar 19; Hutchinson 17, 41. Another view, more commonly associated with Malthus's "positive check," treats war more as a symptom or one of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse rather than a "response." See, e.g., Petty, qtd. in Hutchinson 49.

105. Tawney 44.

106. Thomas More, Utopia, eds. George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 15-6; "Polices" 329; Cooke 28; Collins 10; Sir Matthew Hale, A Discourse Touching Provision for the Poor (London, 1683) 15-16; Petty 1: 475; 2: 475; Defoe, Essay 32; Houghton, Collection 22 Nov. 1700; [Lawrence Braddon], Particular Answers to the Most Material Objections (London, 1722) 52; Fielding 78, 82; Franklin 2: 367, 436, 476; Decker 16-7; A. Smith, Wealth 73.

107. Postlethwayt, Britain's Commercial Interest 1: 20.

108. A. Smith, Wealth 81.

109. See, e.g., Simon Rottenberg, "Income and Leisure in an Underdeveloped Economy," Journal of Political Economy 60 (1952): 95; Robert Sourdain, "La Courbe D'Offre Individuelle de Travail: Limites de L'Analyse Marginaliste", Revue Économique 17 (1966) 603-4; Rosenberg, "Adam Smith" 1177-90; McKendrick, "Home Demand" 183; Landreth 200-1; Chris Nyland, "Capitalism and the History of Worktime Thought," British Journal of Sociology 37 (1986): 516-7; Engerman 7.

110. Adam Smith, Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue and Arms, ed. Edwin Cannan (1896; New York: Kelley, 1964) 257; Edwin Cannan, ed., An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of



the Wealth of Nations, by Adam Smith (New York: Modern Library, 1937) 81n43; James O'Connor, "Smith and Marshall on the Individual's Supply of Labor: A Note," Industrial and Labor Relations Review 14 (1961): 273-5; Bowley 180, 184, 186, 197-8; Hollander 163.

111. Adam Smith, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, eds. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1976) 179-93. Laurence Dickey links Theory of Moral Sentiments and Wealth of Nations through analysis of comparable ideal types of "frugal and industrious man" and "prudent man," showing how Smith at first equated industrious with prudent man and eventually came to reject industrious man as contrary to the common good by the sixth edition of Theory of Moral Sentiments in 1790. See Laurence Dickey, "Historicizing the 'Adam Smith Problem': Conceptual, Historiographical, and Textual Issues," Journal of Modern History 58 (1986): 579-609. Many high- and low-wage theorists sometimes argued in similar terms of "industrious" and "indolent" ideal types with their seemingly inelastic response to changes in real earned income. See Baird, "Necessity."

112. A. Smith, Wealth 81-4, 326.

113. A. Smith, Wealth 421.

114. A. Smith, Wealth 718.

115. A. Smith, Wealth 319.

116. Nathan Rosenberg, "Some Institutional Aspects of the Wealth of Nations," Journal of Political Economy 68 (1960): 557. See also Rosenberg, "Adam Smith" 1187; Hollander 169.

117. On habit, see A. Smith, Wealth 8-9, 15, 122, 437. Smith also emphasized "frugality" as an inelastic savings habit. See similar analysis in Bowley 193-5; Rosenberg, "Adam Smith" 1185-7.

118. Adam Smith, Lectures on Jurisprudence, Glasgow ed., eds. R. L. Meek et al. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978) 568-9; A. Smith, Wealth 7, 15, 33, 81-4, 122, 268, 278-9, 314-5, 319-21.

119. A. Smith, Wealth 766. Cf. A. Smith, Lectures on Justice 175-6. See also Hollander 114.

120. A. Smith, Wealth 96-8, 565-6, 578; Rosenberg, "Aspects" 561, 569; Rosenberg, "Adam Smith" 1189. See also Hollander 126.

121. A. Smith, Wealth 717.



122. A. Smith, Wealth 83-4, 122, 249, 365, 437, 678, 718. On the other hand, the same individuals, "when they are liberally paid by the piece, they are very apt to over-work themselves." See A. Smith, Wealth 81-2, 122, 365. See also Rosenberg, "Aspects"; Engerman 7, 19.

123. A. Smith, Wealth 82 (emphasis mine). Cf. A. Smith, Lectures on Jurisprudence 345-6, 568. Both low- and high-wage theorists observed "natural" or "necessary" limits to the maximization of industry owing to physiological and mental labor capacity and the need for rest. Here Smith follows the work of Sir William Temple who noted the Dutch need for leisure and Postlethwayt's opinion that "all work and no play" leads to reduced productivity. Cf. Temple, Works 1: 143-4; Temple, Essay 33-5; Coats, "Changing" 38-9. See also Forster 10; Fielding 81-2. T. S. Ashton finds the quality leisure argument the positive counterpart of the critique of the irregulate work week. See Ashton, Economic History 205.

124. A. Smith, Wealth 72. The industry of the Chinese artificer appears very similar to Smith's portrayal elsewhere of the behavior of "the poor man's son, whom heavens in its anger he visited with ambition." Cf. A. Smith, Theory of Moral Sentiments 181.

125. Smith further suggested the "labor capacity" interpretation by his own emphasis on nutrition, spirits, and health in assessing the impact of dear corn. See Smith, Wealth 82-3. Several scholars have interpreted Smith's argument and high-wage theory in general in just such terms of increased labor capacity or efficiency. See Schulze-Gaevernitz 8-9 and Gilboy 236-40. But the concept that labor capacity changes proportionably with real wages appears in the work of both high- and low-wage theorists as well. See Petty 2: 592-3; Daniel Defoe, Mercator: or, Commerce Retrieved, Being Consideration on the State if the British Trade, &c. 20-22 Apr. 1714; Defoe, Plan, 26-33.

126. W. O. Thweatt, "A Diagrammatic Presentation of Adam Smith's Growth Model," Social Research 24 (1957): 227-30; Hollander 120-1; Adolph Lowe, On Economic Knowledge: Toward a Science of Political Economics, 2nd ed. (White Plains, N.Y.: Sharpe, 1977) 165-79; Larsen 224; G. Rosenbluth, "A Note on Labour, Wages and Rent in Smith's Theory of Value," Canadian Journal of Economics 2 (1969): 308-14.

127. Vanderlint 119; Postlethwayt, Commercial Interest 1: 43-4; A. Smith, Wealth 59, 116. See further discussion in Furniss 127; Robert M. Larsen, "Adam Smith's Theory of Market Prices," Indian Economic Journal 24 (1977): 230-2; Hollander 118-22; Baird, "Necessity."

128. A. Smith, Wealth 326, 640-1.

129. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, eds., An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, by Adam Smith, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 1: 59. But Adam Smith's inconsistency colored almost all the high- and low-wage literature which consistently bounced back and forth between support for an inelastic (industrious-indolent) and a backward-sloping supply of effort. See Baird, "Necessity."

130. E.g., Temple, Works 1: 141-4, 164; Anderson 419-25. On classical "necessity" statements, see Malthus 1: 31; 3: 454, 471; 6: 257-8, 268, 320-1; Nassau William Senior, Introductory Lectures on Political Economy (London, 1827) 12, qtd. in A. W. Coats, "The Classical Economists and the Labourer," Land, Labour and Population in The Industrial Revolution: Essays Presented to J. D. Chambers, eds. E. L. Jones and G. E. Mingay (New York: Barnes, 1968) 115; J. R. McCulloch, The Principles of Political Economy (Edinburgh, 1849) 76-9, 116-8, 198-201, 238-41; J. R. McCulloch The Literature of Political Economy (1855; London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 1938) 332; Roscher 2: 198-9, 338. See also Warren B. Catlin, The Progress of Economics: A History of Economic Thought (New York: Bookman, 1962) 262.

131. Houghton, Husbandry 4: 383. See also Schulze-Gaevernitz 3-4; Seligman, Shifting 48-9.

132. Houghton, Husbandry 4: 56, 85. See also Lipson 2: 373. Sir Thomas Smith (as noted above) had over a century earlier attributed the sixteenth-century enclosures by the landed gentry to the pressure of inflation on relatively fixed incomes, a point later seconded in the seventeenth century by Gerard de Malynes and Henry Robinson. See T. Smith, Discourse 22, 80-1; Gerard de Malynes, The Canker of England's Commonwealth (1601; Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1977) 90-1; Robinson 7-8.

133. Houghton, Husbandry 4: 56; Furniss 134n; Lipson 2: 376. Henry Robinson earlier noted that rack rents as well as excise taxes induced industry and frugality among husbandmen. See Robinson 7-8, 44-5.

134. Houghton, Collection 15 Nov. 1695.

135. Viner, Studies 113-5; T. S. Ashton, Economic Fluctuations in England, 1750-1800 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1959) 41. For a similar view, see Franklin 2: 261-3.

136. D. C. Coleman, rev. of Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth Century England, by Joyce Oldham Appleby, Journal of Modern History 53 (1981): 106.

137. Schumpeter 267-8; Letwin, Origins.

138. Pocock 437. Cf. Arthur O. Lovejoy, Essays in the History of Ideas (1948; New York: Capricorn, 1960) 78.

## CHAPTER 5 NECESSITY IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY

With the analysis of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British operative values, we return again to the other side of the Atlantic and the question which began that analysis: What were the operative values of seventeenth-century Virginians? It should come as no surprise that English operative values were as much a part of the cultural baggage of the first Anglo-Americans as English normative values and proved equally resistant to change. No Virginian claimed to be a scientific observer of colonial society, and there is little direct evidence that Virginians until relatively late in the seventeenth century were even familiar with the work of British political economists. Nevertheless, numerous private and public observations echoed loudly the arguments of high- and low-wage theorists despite the wide difference in the particular problems addressed.

To reveal these operative values we will focus on a paradox that greatly occupied the thoughts of Virginians in the seventeenth century, as it continues to occupy the minds of historians today: Why did Virginia fail to live up to its great promise? The answers Virginians gave differed little from those offered by the political economists for the fail-



ure of Great Britain to live up to its potential. Throughout the seventeenth century Englishmen in Virginia and England offered two main reasons to explain this failure: poverty and indolence. In general, the high-wage argument prevailed in seventeenth-century Virginia; almost all public statements in Virginia claimed poverty as the root cause. However, numerous private statements blamed the problem on the indolence of the planters revealing the presence of a strong low-wage streak in Virginian thought.

As with political economists though, far more important than such liberal/conservative differences was the high degree of consensus in the realm of operative values, a consensus once again built around the idea of necessity as relative poverty. Take the comments of Nicholas Spencer and William Fitzhugh, both clearly familiar with the language of contemporaneous English political economy. Nicholas Spencer, the then Secretary of Virginia, writing to the Secretary of State in London in 1683 noted that the slight rise in price

quieted the minds of our unthrifty inhabitants, who cannot be persuaded to undertake some new industry, but prefer to live miserably by tobacco. The pleasing thought of a cessation of planting they have for the present laid aside...By my observation I cannot persuade myself that either a cessation or a stint in the number of plants will effect what is intended. The work must do itself; the crop must grow to such vast quantities that no one will come to fetch it, and then the law of necessity will force them to new industries.<sup>1</sup>

For his part, Fitzhugh, a good friend of Spencer, in his correspondence with Thomas Mathews in Northumberland County

over the summer of 1681, sought to encourage Mathews's efforts at manufacturing linen, "wishing that as you give good example to others, you may reap benefit thereby to your self":

I do not approve of your term project, for the advancement of a most usefull and advantageous Manufacture, which I believe in time, when necessity and use shall have reduced more to follow, will be found more profitable and advantageous to a generall Commerce, than the greatest probability can imagine from this superfluous staple [tobacco], that at present custom hath rendr'd suitable to the generality, by reason one is of absolute necessity, the other a thing indifferent, and more obliged to the fancy than any real worth in itself. Absolute necessity of business calls me abroad often, that I am glad when I can have some leisure at home, I am taking of some and assure your self, that you shall be one of the first whom when I get time I intend to visit. Necessity as 'tis the Mother of Invention, so it is the Nurse of Industry, which has so far been cherished here that there's little of any wool left in our parts not wrought up either in stockings &c, therefore no hopes of the purchase of any here.<sup>2</sup>

Spencer's and Fitzhugh's comments reveal the power and complexity of the idea of necessity in late seventeenth-century Virginia rhetoric which combined Democritean notions of "absolute necessity" with notions of necessity as relative poverty which was driving or would in the future drive Virginians to take up new industries.

As in British debates, necessity as an operative value lay rarely on the surface and was often buried beneath layers of rhetoric about opportunity, hope, ability, and sin. Nevertheless, pulling back those layers reveals notions about necessity as vital for literate seventeenth-century

Virginians as for their peers on the other side of the Atlantic.<sup>3</sup>

### Trouble in Paradise

Underlying all the writing about Virginia, either implicitly or explicitly, lay a shared image. For the poor laborer, Virginia, lying in the same latitude as all of "the Gardens of the World," was a Lubberland where "the earth bringeth foorth all things in abundance, as in the first creation, without toile or labour."<sup>4</sup> For the ambitious gentleman, Virginia promised quick riches to restore flagging fortunes.

Complementing these personal visions, the public vision of Virginians throughout the seventeenth century--echoing the goal of colonial promoters, Company and Crown officials alike--consistently championed the idea of turning the Virginia wilderness into a garden. They sought to plant a "colony" rather than a mere trading post, to replicate in Virginia the complex social economy of England supplemented with the trades and industries that England lacked.<sup>5</sup> Virginians, while celebrating the natural abundance of the land, encouraged their fellow planters to improve upon nature.<sup>6</sup> The more specific goals associated with this image included at various times the development of towns, manufactures, agricultural reform, and, most importantly, alternative staples for export.

Thus America appeared to Englishmen as a possible solution to the problems associated with overpopulation and poverty--in particular, the problem of idleness, "the root of all evil." New World abundance would transform the poor into the competent and the idle into the industrious, both at home and abroad.<sup>7</sup> This view, highlighted by practically all pre-Jamestown colonial promoters, had both a solid operative and a normative foundation: an operative belief that opportunity would stimulate industry and a normative view of man's duty to develop God's blessings.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, on both sides of the Atlantic, the image of the promised land quickly tarnished when exposed to reality. Indeed, from almost the first, the "promise" of Virginia became the "problem" of Virginia.<sup>9</sup> Although the early discovery of tobacco offered the colony a reprieve, Virginia could never thereafter escape the stigma which King Charles I laid on her in 1627 of being a colony "wholly built upon smoke...and that so easy to be turned into air" and ignoring the discovery and development of far more profitable staples than tobacco.<sup>10</sup> The image had not improved by the end of the century, when Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton reported that Virginia was "one of the poorest, miserablest, and worst Countries in all America, that is inhabited by Christians."<sup>11</sup>

The terrible hardships in the first years of settlement, repeated reports of the idleness of the first



settlers, and the general failure of Virginia to live up to its promise led many Englishmen to question the promotional ideal. Some emphasized that, despite man's duty to develop God's blessings, men were inevitably sinful. Others questioned whether opportunity indeed stimulated industry. Both of these groups criticized the quality of the early immigrants. Correction required an improvement in government, preaching, and the transportation of industrious immigrants. This view was reflected in the first official report from the governing council in Virginia on June 22, 1607, which called for the "home Council [to] enact stricter regulations for the conduct and labor obligation of the hired workman," claiming "the land would Flowe with milke and honey if so seconded."<sup>12</sup> While not denying the natural abundance of Virginia, the report stressed the downside of Lubberland proclaiming that a proper colony would only come with industry.<sup>13</sup> This view became the accepted dogma of Virginia's critics in England, Company officials like Sir Thomas Dale, and numerous visitors.<sup>14</sup> John Smith, and later natives like Robert Beverley and William Byrd II, shared much in common with these writers, although their views were tempered by boosterism.<sup>15</sup>

Virginians, however, for the most part publicly rejected such arguments. Colonial leaders throughout the seventeenth century, echoing the optimism of early colonization promoters, downplayed the issues of quality and coercion.

Recognizing the bankruptcy of jeremiads and of martial law as policy for attracting potential colonists, most colonial leaders continued to maintain the optimistic view that the problem lay neither in the land nor the people, that New World abundance would indeed transform the indolent into the industrious. From the 1620s until Robert Beverley's scathing attack on the indolence of his fellow Virginians in 1705, almost every public statement made by colonists suggested a very industrious lot in Virginia.<sup>16</sup> When Nathaniel Bacon's declared to his followers that "there is nothing soe hard, but by Labour and Industry it may bee overcome," he was addressing a people fully convinced of their own industry.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, in the classic style of a jeremiad, Beverley himself romanticized the great industry of the past when Berkeley "set all hands industriously to Work in making Country Improvements."<sup>18</sup>

Although rarely explicated, Sir William Berkeley's A Discourse and View of Virginia (1663) made clear the operative heart of this dominant viewpoint--a firm belief in the transformative effect of hope and opportunity on men's nature.<sup>19</sup> At the same time, Virginians accepted the central lessons of more pessimistic writers, emphasizing the need for good laws and good preaching to guide and encourage industry.<sup>20</sup> And, paradoxically, despite the abundance that stimulated industry, in searching for the chief cause of Virginia's problem they stressed poverty--the lack of suffi-

cient capital and time to develop alternative staples in their present struggle simply to survive.

Virginians did not fall neatly into indolence and poverty camps. On some points all Virginians agreed, such as the faith they shared that certain undiscovered or undeveloped staples which an industrious people would search out and produce would prove more profitable than tobacco. If the earliest promotional tracts had too easily stressed the Lubberland image alone, writers from Ralph Hamor and John Rolfe in the early seventeenth century, through John Hammond at mid-century, to Beverley and William Byrd II in the early eighteenth century would ambiguously tend to combine images of both "natural paradise" (abundance without industry) and "potential paradise" (abundance only with industry) in uneasy tension.<sup>21</sup> Some commentators reconciled the two views by assuming that God had furnished Virginia with "all necessities of life," and "industry" would supply her with "all conveniences and advantages, for profit, ease, and pleasure."<sup>22</sup> Or, as Beverley put it, the lack of dire poverty suggests "that this may in truth, be term'd the best poor Man's Country in the World," yet without industry such an existence might perhaps be suitable for an Indian but hardly for a self-respecting Englishman who should improve on nature.<sup>23</sup>

The key question on which Virginians differed reduced to this: Were these Virginians sufficiently industrious?

Those who stressed indolence obviously answered "no"; those who stressed poverty believed "yes," but industry was subverted by other factors. This basic difference colored the way that Virginians viewed the relationship between the individual and the state. In the poverty argument, guiding individuals towards the common good meant merely providing a proper example, showing the direction of greatest profit, and the passage of good laws to encourage proper behavior and discourage improper behavior. The indolence argument suggested that planters in maximizing their individual utility emphasized too much the value of leisure and thus would not pursue their true interest even if shown the (already quite obvious) direction of greatest profit; thus any solution depended far more on punitive laws and jeremiads to coerce proper behavior.

However, again we should not overplay the differences. The competing poverty and indolence arguments seem to represent not the fixed world views of any individual or group of individuals as much as plausible sets of operative values that Virginians drew on as needed. Both groups shared the particular bias that the Crown should hold out only carrots for this, his first and oldest colony, and never wield the stick. Consistently, they also both believed that the stick, properly wielded by local persons aware of the true interests of the colony, could be most effective in guiding planters toward the common good.<sup>24</sup> Finally, and most impor-



tantly, as we shall see, these Virginians, much like high- and low-wage theorists, shared a similar overriding notion of the central place of necessity in political economy.

### The Rhetoric of Poverty

Regardless of the normative emphasis on pursuing the common good, whether in seventeenth-century England, Virginia, or even Puritan New England, rarely did anyone presume a political economy on any other basis than the pursuit of self-interest as a central attribute of human nature.<sup>25</sup> The leaders of Virginia hardly believed all men could be or even needed to be virtuous. Indeed, any presumption of disinterestedness was restricted to a small minority of like-thinking gentlemen, excluding the "giddy-headed multitude" dominated by their ignorant "humors" and many "so-called gentlemen" who were too readily corrupted and factious.<sup>26</sup> Policy makers thus perforce shaped policy to foster individual self-interest as well as the common good.<sup>27</sup>

The classic defense of the pursuit of self-interest, of course, goes back to Aristotle's critique of Plato's communism, a critique rehashed in seventeenth-century Virginia and Plymouth.<sup>28</sup> But acceptance of the reality of economic forces guided the Virginians as well in their recognition of the need to appeal to the self-interest of merchants and foreigners, either to encourage or discourage certain practices.<sup>29</sup> Virginians certainly recognized that

self-interest could lead certain individuals to bend or break the law.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, reflecting a widespread mercantilist faith in the ability and necessity of government to micromanage societal problems, Virginians believed that self-interest combined with good laws and proper sanctions would prove an effective substitute for virtue.<sup>31</sup>

While all accepted that Virginians in general would pursue their self-interest, not all believed that Virginians would pursue wealth. Only the poverty argument stressed that--given an awareness of the profit of any particular enterprise and sufficient ability--planters would automatically pursue the course of greatest profit. They used this belief to justify the institution of particular incentives or the removal of incentives once profitability was sufficiently established.<sup>32</sup> More explicitly, poverty rhetoric emphasized that the only reasons for not pursuing the lines of greatest profit were lack of awareness or lack of capacity.<sup>33</sup> In contrast to the high- and low-wage theories prevalent in contemporary New and Old England, there was little "class bias" in this poverty rhetoric which applied alike to all planters (although rarely extended to servants and never to slaves).<sup>34</sup>

Virginians recognized that others in the world were similarly motivated and that higher tobacco prices or removal of restrictions would cause non-producers elsewhere to begin growing tobacco.<sup>35</sup> In this context, some Virginians

like Berkeley sometimes (but not often) stressed that the reason for the Virginians' concentration on tobacco was the relatively higher return on their labor on tobacco than in other commodities.<sup>36</sup> A few suggested that there was no secure vent for any staple but tobacco while tobacco could provide them all their necessities.<sup>37</sup> A handful of statements by Governors Berkeley, Culpeper, and Gooch pushed the relative price argument so far in the direction of classical economic theory (with its assumptions of perfect substitutability between commodities in a market equilibrium) as to suggest that a lowering of the price of tobacco or a raising of the price of an alternative staple would ceteris paribus promote a reduction in tobacco production and vice versa.<sup>38</sup>

Far more than relative prices, the poverty argument in Virginia, like high-wage theory in Britain, stressed hope and opportunity as central to promoting colonial economic development.<sup>39</sup> Besides, as Beverley stressed, "'tis not likely that any Man of a plentiful Estate, should voluntarily abandon a happy Certainty, to roam after imaginary Advantages, in a New World" unless he were fairly certain of the possibilities for bettering his condition.<sup>40</sup> Virginians purposefully shaped their institutions to attract the wealthy and poor alike and doggedly attempted to preserve the image of the country against outside critics.<sup>41</sup>

Like Adam Smith a century later, those Virginians emphasizing poverty noted that the uncertainty of enjoying

the fruits of one's labor or a reward system not proportional to labor input discouraged industry.<sup>42</sup> Uncertainty--especially when their fate was controlled by outsiders like the Company or by the Crown without counsel from Virginia--as the Grand Assembly reported in 1628--made "the Planters fearefull to settle there aboade heere or raise any workes of better consequence or future profitt, as deeming it a place where there would bee noe certainty or stability of their affaires but continually subjecte to ruine and alteration."<sup>43</sup> In 1656 the Assembly instructed the Virginia agents in London to warn the merchants that "we shall hardly mend the commodities without they mend the price, for if we once find that good and bad is all one as in respect to us, we shall certainly make that which made with most ease."<sup>44</sup> Similarly, Berkeley, in 1663, noted that "there is no Plantation of the English would more abound in Cattel, Hogs, and all sorts of Fruit, than Virginia, if they had but a mean price to quicken their industry, and make their providence vigilant."<sup>45</sup> The threat of enslavement or communism stifled industry as much as liberty encouraged it.<sup>46</sup>

America, the very land of hope and opportunity, naturally worked miracles on idle Englishmen, much as pre-Jamestown colonial promoters hypothesized. Berkeley's Discourse provides the classic statement of this view:

An other greater imputation lyes on the Countrey, that none but those of the meanest quality and corruptest lives go thither. This to our Maligners we would easily grant, if they would consent to the omen of it: for was



not Rome thus begun and composed?...[T]hose that come from hence with those ungoverned manners and affections, change them there for sober and thrifty passions and desires, which is evident in most that are there; and those that will either experimentally or morally weigh the nature and conditions of men, shall find, that naturally this change will follow the alteration of our conditions...and the natural reason is evident, for it is hope and a proposed end that quickens our industry, and bridles our intemperance."<sup>47</sup>

Similarly, John Smith believed he could found a colony with idlers, because "could they but once taste the sweet fruites of their owne labours, doubtlesse many thousands would be advised by good discipline, to take more pleasure in honest industrie, then in their humors of dissolute idlenesse."<sup>48</sup> As historian Richard Beale Davis has well noted, the Virginia ideal was not that of "a chosen people in an errand into the wilderness, but of a people who, if they gathered the human dregs of the Old World and trained them, might create with their aid a new Canaan in this garden of the New World."<sup>49</sup>

All of which raises anew the question: Why the failure of Virginia to live up to its promise? Historians have traditionally represented the problem as simply the flipside of the causes of tobacco overproduction. Working within a Smithian framework, they presume that overproduction was a result of the overresponsiveness of planters to economic opportunity, a view supported by contemporary English political economists like William Petty and Jacob Vanderlint who recognized that unregulated individual responses to opportunity often proved contrary to both the individual and common

good.<sup>50</sup> Virginians, however, did not explain the problem in exactly this way.<sup>51</sup>

Rather, the answer, in the rhetoric of poverty, lay in the lack of awareness of alternative staples and, most importantly, the lack of ability to develop such staples, the basic reasons which would prevent anyone from pursuing the line of greatest profit. Whereas the Crown and other outsiders believed that the discovery and development of alternative staples was a very simple matter, the Virginians found this not to be the case.<sup>52</sup> Over the course of the seventeenth century, numerous premiums were offered solely to stimulate experimentation and then quickly withdrawn once they were assumed to have served their educational purpose.<sup>53</sup> Berkeley and other leading planters, fulfilling their role as gentlemen, made experiments to prove and make lesser planters aware of the viability of various commodities in Virginia.<sup>54</sup> As Berkeley noted in 1649 in developing a plan for the development of vineyards and wine as a commodity to which Virginia was well-suited,

some men of worth and estate must give in these things example to the inferiour inhabitants and ordinary sort of men, to shew them the gain and Commodity by it, which they will not believe but by experience before their faces: And in Tobacco they can make 20l. sterling a man, at 3d. a pound per annum; and this they find and know, and the present gain is that, that puts out all endeavours from the attempting of others more Staple, and Sollid, and rich Commodities, out of the heads and hands of the Common people: So as I say, the wealthier sort of men must begin and give the example, and make the gain of other Commodities as apparent to them, by the effecting them to perfection, or it will not (as it hath not hitherto unto) go forward.<sup>55</sup>

Similarly, Hugh Jones noted a resistance to diversification

because of the trouble and certain expense in attempts of this kind, with uncertain prospect of gain; whereas by their staple commodity, tobacco, they are in hopes to get a plentiful provision; nay, often very great estates...Upon this account they think it folly to take off their hands (or Negroes) and employ their care and time about any thing, that may make them lessen their crop of tobacco...So that though they are apt to learn, yet they are fond of, and will follow their own ways, humours, and notions, being not easily brought to new projects and schemes.<sup>56</sup>

Accepting this fact of life, Jones proposed a scheme to develop alternative staples and manufactures which would not impede the planting of tobacco.<sup>57</sup>

Diversification, however, required not just industry and awareness but resources like capital, time, and skills.<sup>58</sup> Although Virginians had discovered one staple in tobacco which provided them a subsistence, increased competition had driven down the value of that staple and forced them to devote all their industry toward that single staple, leaving no resources available for searching out and developing alternatives.<sup>59</sup> The relative price argument taken to its extreme suggested that lower prices for tobacco would thus promote the search for and production of alternative staples. Governor Harvey, for example, in 1630 observed that "seeinge the base condition of Tobacco, [the people] are willinge with all convenience to set themselves upon the raisinge other comodities."<sup>60</sup> However, the poverty argument overwhelmingly downplayed this effect stressing the negative

effect of reducing the available capital for undertaking such projects.<sup>61</sup> Besides denying the ability to pursue worthier projects, poverty also destroyed the hope and opportunity which Virginians believed provided the ultimate key to colonial development. Some Virginians even recognized that this rule applied to servants as well as planters.<sup>62</sup>

Thus ultimately poverty led to agricultural involution. While the prospect of great wealth may have initially attracted planters to tobacco, throughout the seventeenth-century they highlighted not the opportunity but the poverty of tobacco which "at length has brought them to that extremity, that they can neither handsomely subsist with it, nor without it."<sup>63</sup> Although Berkeley made this claim in 1663 when tobacco brought less than two pence per pound, Virginians in 1626 had similarly complained about the contract price of twelve pence per pound: "How can wee counsell the planter to make his tobacco principall good, which now soe much concernes us, if hee still bee enforced to make soe great quantities to furnish himself with necessaries."<sup>64</sup> Four years earlier (when tobacco prices were even higher) some planters had petitioned the King "on the behalf of themselves and the rest of your poore distressed Subjects of that Plantation" "that by their long experience hazard and chardge both of their persons and estates, for many yeares now past," they have found that the colony could produce many staples to supply the needs of Kingdom "but by main-



teyning warre with the Indians, and the former benefitt, which hath bene made by Tobacco they have bene hindered and mispent their times therein." Because now "tobacco is of noe value," unless the King be pleased to take them under his protection and institute a tobacco contract with an assured reasonable price giving the planters the "meanes to subsist for the present, and apply themselves for the future to plant some reall commodity there, to which that Country is apt and fitt," they lamented they "are like to perish, and soe hopefull a Plantation will presently sinck and become of noe use at all." <sup>65</sup> The rhetoricians of poverty were caught in the paradox of living in a Lubberland where "any laborious honest man may in a short time become rich" while at the same time bemoaning their poverty and the low price of tobacco--"the only meanes for our present supportacon and subsistence"--two themes echoed over and over again in the seventeenth century.<sup>66</sup>

Every cause given for the lack of diversification and overproduction of tobacco was equally a cause of poverty, although the poverty argument normally identified the ultimate source in external forces.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps the most egregious and direct link with poverty was the vicious "debt cycle," well known to contemporaries and historians of the antebellum and postbellum South. Planters complained that merchants took advantage of the planters by selling them clothes and provisions (and less useful commodities) at

excessive rates while paying low rates for tobacco, placing the planters in debt almost to the value of the next crop. Necessity forced planters to continue planting tobacco which kept them in perpetual debt and "continual slavery."<sup>68</sup> Planters who attempted to avoid the problems of tobacco by transplanting a more traditional English agriculture soon failed and found themselves forced to turn to tobacco for survival.<sup>69</sup>

Similarly, while bemoaning the abandonment of trades by craftsmen, the leaders of the colony recognized that they did so because of the uncertainty of timely payment in an economy where the only money was tobacco which would not come in until the next crop was available.<sup>70</sup> Rarely have historians noted let alone accepted such an explanation. Some have stressed instead the relatively higher profitability of tobacco (despite high wages) while others have stressed the yeoman ideal of land ownership following the author of American Husbandry who noted that "nothing but a high price will induce men to labour at all, and at the same time it presently puts a conclusion to it by so soon enabling them to take a piece of waste land."<sup>71</sup> But neither the profit motive nor the yeoman ideal finds expression in the extant seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Virginia literature.<sup>72</sup>

Responses to Poverty

The rhetoric of poverty treated seventeenth-century Virginia planters in much the same way that high-wage theory treated the British working classes, emphasizing the hopelessness and lack of opportunity in the face of dire poverty. Nevertheless, like political economists in Great Britain who highlighted diverse responses to necessity, discussion of impoverished planters did not imply that planters had no defense against absolute poverty. Implicit in the many statements analyzed here lay the belief that planters would seek sociopolitical solutions to necessity ranging from petitioning the Crown for redress, through local legislation, to extralegal rebellion.<sup>73</sup> Sometimes they made the connection explicit. Thus, in 1625, "the extreme discouragement of the adventurer and planter" due to the "desperate" state of the colony with "skant supplie of necessaries this yeare not sufficient to cover our nakednes, and the rates of those threefold more excessive than formerly" had driven "great numbers of the planters" to go to England to petition the Crown for redress and protection. Similarly, the Governor and Council reported in 1666 that "an absolute necessitie puts us upon this Provident wisdome" of passing a law for tobacco cessation, with such great quantities of tobacco on hand at a price "so small that wee were not able to live by it" and merchants taking advantage of "our necessities."<sup>74</sup>

In early years the Burgesses made the veiled threat that necessity promoted the search for vents for their tobacco outside of England.<sup>75</sup> Later, necessity hastened the public investment in the search for alternative staples.<sup>76</sup> At other times, leaders noted that any reduction in necessity or increase in hope and opportunity would reduce the demand for sociopolitical responses. Thus Berkeley believed that merchants in the early 1660s offered a higher than market rate for tobacco and spread the rumor of a new vent in Russia to fend off an incipient movement for a stint.<sup>77</sup>

The immediate goal of almost all sociopolitical responses focused on increasing the price of tobacco to escape necessity. As though charity were not a good enough incentive for the Crown, in the early years Virginians further justified higher tobacco prices--whether due to the remittance of customs, sole importation into England, terminating colonial monopolies, allowing free exportation to other ports or realms, ceasing domestic tobacco production in England, stinting or cessation of tobacco production in all of the English colonies, or delays on ship departure--as essential to achieving the promise of Virginia. Higher tobacco prices would provide the poor planters with both the hope (escape from poverty) and means (especially capital) necessary "to sett up those staple commodities which require a longe expectation of proffitt."<sup>78</sup> Cessation, stinting, or other physical restrictions on tobacco production as the



methods for raising tobacco prices were further recommended as providing the requisite time as well as capital to search out and develop such projects.<sup>79</sup> But Virginians were far less interested in gaining Crown premiums for alternative staples to foster future diversification than simply getting Crown support for projects aimed at increasing the farm price of tobacco to relieve present necessity.<sup>80</sup> In the latter part of the seventeenth century, when the Crown dropped its diversification plans for Virginia, planters readily shifted to the argument that higher tobacco prices would inhibit manufacturing by preventing the abandonment of tobacco production.<sup>81</sup>

Whether or not higher tobacco prices overall promoted diversification, those Virginians lamenting their poverty did threaten throughout the seventeenth century that lower tobacco prices and subsequent necessity would lead to "abandonment." In the earlier part of the century, they suggested that planters would abandon the colony.<sup>82</sup> As the Burgesses expressed these sentiments in 1638, only poverty leads men to give up their liberty and loss of liberty leads men to emigrate.<sup>83</sup> But in the latter part of the century and into the eighteenth century, with the colony more settled and the Crown more dependent on revenue from tobacco duties, the emphasis shifted to the abandonment of tobacco production in favor of manufactures, husbandry, and total self-sufficiency. In 1677, the Commissioners, reporting back to the Crown

on the unrest in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion, noted the potential for both types of abandonment, with the planters

of so sullen and obstinate an humour, that if not treated as befitts their present condition, with easie and timely methods of Redresse, tis to be more than fear'd (as the common Rumour indicates) that they will either abandon their Plantations, putt off their servants and dispose of their stocks and away to other parts, or else the most part of them will only make Corne, instead of Tobacco, and soe sullenly sitt downe--carelesse of what becomes of their owne Estates or the Kings Customes.<sup>84</sup>

Such arguments usually lamented that, unable to purchase their necessities with tobacco, the planters would be forced to make their own clothing.<sup>85</sup> As Governor Alexander Spotswood noted, "the Careful, Industrious Planter" undertook manufactures "more by necessity than inclination," "necessitated to take some other course to Cloath his Family than by making Tobacco."<sup>86</sup>

If Virginians did not have recourse to legal means to reduce their necessity, some leaders--especially in the period 1661-1682--feared they would turn to extralegal means, namely rebellion.<sup>87</sup> The rebels themselves, as revealed in their statements during and immediately following Bacon's Rebellion, did not attribute their actions to simple necessity, but to what they perceived as unjust necessity as a result of action by the government against the common good, in particular unjust taxes.<sup>88</sup> Officials, demanding and expecting deference, countered that the rebels had little sense of the common good and were guided more by humors and

passions--"the Ignorant People", "giddy-headed multitude", "the Vulgar", "the ruder Sort", "the credulous Silly People," "evily disposed Persons," "the Easy sort of people," "that Rab[b]le which are more spirited by the hopes of plunder than principles of honour," "a giddy and unthinking Multitude"--readily manipulated by disaffected gentry.<sup>89</sup> Yet no official could deny that such humors and passions, however unreasonable, could lead to rebellion unless due consideration was given to the people's sense of perceived injustice and necessity. Berkeley himself acknowledged just before Bacon's Rebellion that "the two last greate Taxes of sixty per pole to buy in the Northerne Patent" that made "all those who thought they were not concerned in it apt to mutiny," and the Indian war with its call for even more taxes simply proved the final blow.<sup>90</sup> As Spotswood well observed in 1718, there was "a Necessity some times of giving way to popular Humours 'till they work off of themselves."<sup>91</sup>

Virginians, however, did not rely strictly on sociopolitical responses. The power of abandonment as a threat to encourage positive Crown action rested fundamentally on actual abandonment by some individuals. Virginians often noted that Maryland and North Carolina served as outlets of escape if debts or taxes rose too high in the colony, a major reason for seeking to bring the entire Chesapeake region under one government.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, numerous offi-

cials noted that many planters had already begun manufactures.<sup>93</sup> Virginians were not above pure invention either. In the classic tradition of necessity, John Bannister noted that with tobacco needed to purchase clothing and corn needed to provide meat and drink and both needing care at the same time, "necessity the mother of invention, has of late years put men upon making several sorts of hoe-harrows, for the more easie and speedy tending of it [corn]."<sup>94</sup>

One of the more important responses to necessity was simple expansion. In the face of necessity, Virginians abandoned time-, labor-, and capital-intensive practices typical of English agriculture for land-intensive practices combined with techniques adapted from their Indian neighbors. The best description of this response was provided by the Burgesses in 1638 in explaining how planters of necessity sidestepped the intent of a law limiting the number of tobacco plants per poll. This law

hath allready caused diverse of the Inhabitants to forsake their Plantacons and to neglecte the fencinge of grounds, the plantinge of corne, orchards and gardens, the makeinge inclosures, and pasture for cattle and other uses. Being necessitated for their present releefe and subsistance to remove and plant upon such grounds as would yeald most Tobaccocoe upon a Plante although they have suffered all other inconveniences thereby and such as are not able to remove from their ould and over worne grounds are kepte by the limitacon of a certen number of plants per poll in perpetual poverty and ingagement in regard their labour upon soe manie plants will not produce half soe much tobaccocoe as others.<sup>95</sup>

Repeal of the law restricting the number of plants per poll in the early 1640s however did not end the drive to



expand. Throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century there was a constant pressure for land expansion such as that noted by the Burgesses in 1648 when they bemoaned "the great and clamorous necessities of divers of the inhabitants occasioned and brought upon them through the mean produce of their labours upon barren and over-wrought grounds and the apparent decay of their cattle and hoggs for want of sufficient range."<sup>96</sup>

### The Rhetoric of Indolence

The indolence argument, while never denying the natural abundance of Virginia, also never stopped stressing the "only with industry" proviso of the promotional literature. If the colony did not produce appropriate abundance, then the colonists were obviously not industrious. Accepted as dogma by Company and Crown officials on the other side of the Atlantic and numerous visitors, this view also colored the views of several individuals who closely identified themselves with Virginia, including John Smith, Robert Beverley, and William Byrd II. While the indolence views of Smith, Beverley, and Byrd have achieved wide notoriety, those of other less famous Virginians like Thomas Ludwell have not. "Wee have it certainly in our power," observed Ludwell in 1667, "to be a very rich and happy collony were wee not of soe ill a constitution as not to be industrious till necessity compells us."<sup>97</sup> Similarly Hartwell, Blair,

and Chilton complained that planters were industrious only with regard to tobacco which provided all their necessities, "but the great Labour about Tobacco being only in Summer Time, they acquire great Habits Of Idleness all the rest of the Year"--suggesting that increased necessity would increase industry in the winter time.<sup>98</sup> Governor William Gooch believed Virginians in the 1730s "an indolent people who would abandon economic habits only out of necessity."<sup>99</sup>

Yet for all of these Virginians, their indolence views, rarely expressed in the day-to-day political discourse of seventeenth-century Virginia, existed in uneasy tension with the more public poverty argument. Indeed the question naturally arises whether these opposing views, often coexisting in the same writer, did not simply reflect opposite sides of the same coin and not two distinct sets of operative values, let alone two distinct groups of Virginians. Perhaps the difference between the two arguments represented simply two different types of literature, with the rhetoric of indolence more a product of critical, literary, private sources rather than promotional, pragmatic, public. But an understanding of that tension is central to understanding the Virginia mind.

Berkeley's Discourse which so clearly laid out the framework of the rhetoric of poverty was designed as a polemic against the view held by "divers wise men" who, noting the natural richness of soil of Virginia, imputed

that "we [Virginians] have not imployed our cares and industry, in producing more staple commodities then hitherto we have attempted."<sup>100</sup> For the most part these "divers wise men" found the source of Virginia's woes in the quality of her colonists. "It was accepted in England," concludes historian Nicholas P. Canny, "that only those in need of employment were likely to be attracted as settlers to either Ireland or Virginia, and since they were generally considered to be lazy, licentious and rebellious, it was consistent that the promoters saw little hope that colonization efforts would bear fruit unless commanded by leaders whose 'eminence or nobility' would restrain the 'servile nature' of the majority."<sup>101</sup> Furthermore, contemporaries could hardly be surprised by the results of a promotional literature which, they clearly recognized, appealed to the lazy streak in potential colonists.<sup>102</sup> And contrary to those Virginians who emphasized poverty, they rejected any New World transformation in the natures of the dregs shipped out to Virginia. Samuel Purchas well captured English opinion about Virginians when he observed that a "prodigious prodigal here is not easily metamorphosed in a Virginian passage to a thrifty planter."<sup>103</sup> Thus the rhetoricians of indolence complained about colonists in Virginia much as low-wage theorists complained about laborers in England and Ireland.<sup>104</sup>

These views of inherent indolence were strengthened by racist views of the laziness of the Indians.<sup>105</sup> In a classic

low-wage statement, Hugh Jones commented: "They [Indians] have no notion of providing for futuroty; for they eat night and day whilst their provision lasts, falling to as soon as they awake, and falling asleep again as soon as they are well crammed."<sup>106</sup> Despite a wide range in attitudes toward Indians expressed by Smith, Byrd, and Beverley, they shared with all other literate Englishmen and Virginians the opinion that the savage life was not a fit life for an Englishman.<sup>107</sup> Or, as Roy Harvey Pearce noted, the Indian "showed civilized men [what] they were not and must not be."<sup>108</sup> Yet behind the indolence argument lay fears of the lure of the Devil in the wilderness and reversion to savagery, the nagging belief that contact with inferior peoples might lead to regression rather than civilization as Englishmen went native "following the nature of man, ever inclining to the worse."<sup>109</sup> Crown and Company officials, notes Canny, feared that, "freed from the constraints of English society and exposed to new pressures," colonists "would give free play to their passions, thus giving rise to tumult, freebooting, drunkenness and desertion to the enemy," where they could live idly among the Indians and become like them.<sup>110</sup>

For those Virginians emphasizing indolence, only strict laws and the influence of ministers could achieve any kind of transformation, as shown most convincingly in the early years of settlement when cries of indolence came from every corner. In such a situation only the martial policy of Sir



Thomas Gates and Sir Thomas Dale could put the colonists on the right track.<sup>111</sup> In the 1620s Company leaders justified the harshness of earlier measures "without which the Colony consisting then of such debayst and irregular persons could not possibly continue."<sup>112</sup> As the Reverend William Crashaw put it, "the basest and worst men trained up in severe discipline, under sharpe lawes, a hard life, and much labor, do prove good members of a Commonwealth."<sup>113</sup> So confident was Dale in the transforming character of his military order that he suggested that the Company send him convicts.<sup>114</sup>

Nevertheless, along with the Company and in the face of the difficulties of attracting voluntary colonists to a military colony, later Virginians abandoned martial policy for more subtle forms of social control as the tools of reform. Whatever one's opinion about the religiosity among seventeenth-century Virginians, one should not downplay the central importance they placed on ministers and the church as a tool of reform.<sup>115</sup> If the poverty argument stressed the natural leadership of great planters in educating lesser planters, the indolence argument never took that leadership for granted, emphasizing the importance of ceremony for maintaining order.<sup>116</sup>

In contrast to the rhetoricians of poverty who stressed the non-permanence of early settlers, rhetoricians of indolence echoed their English counterparts by blaming the early problems of Virginia on the quality of the first colonists.

Nevertheless later indolence arguments, like later poverty arguments, downplayed the applicability of these early explanations to the present state. Beverley agreed with English critics that the earliest immigrants to Virginia left England driven by hunger and fear of prisons.

But this way of Peopling the Colony was only at first; for after the advantages of the Climate, and the fruitfulness of the Soil were well known, and all the dangers incident to Infant Settlements were over, People of better Condition retir'd thither with their Families, either to increase the Estates they had before, or else to avoid being persecuted for their Principles of Religion, or Government...Thus in the time of the Rebellion in England, several good Cavalier Families [came to Virginia].

Later rhetoric generally emphasized not armigerous but simply "good" English families rather than the Cavaliers made famous by the "Cavalier myth," although usually highlighting the influx of royalists during the Commonwealth period.<sup>117</sup> Yet the later rhetoric did not completely abandon the quality argument. They simply restricted its applicability to the lower classes--indentured servants and their offspring--and to all those who fled to North Carolina.<sup>118</sup>

However, while the low character of indentured servants perhaps explained part of the problem, it did not explain all for, unlike their low-wage compatriots in England, these Virginians did not limit their charges of indolence to the lower orders; indeed, much of their jeremiad was aimed at planters in general.<sup>119</sup> Indolence did not end with permanent settlement and improvements in the quality of settlers. The literature of the late-seventeenth and eighteenth century is

as replete with criticisms of "this slothful indolence" as that of the early seventeenth century.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, there was nothing unique about such complaints of indolence which were common among Englishmen at home as well as visitors to all of the colonies.<sup>121</sup>

Interestingly, although early critics had linked indolence to the poor character of the immigrants, by the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century the indolence argument shifted to environmentalist interpretations that emphasized the negative impact of abundance on industry. The question arises why these classical environmentalist ideas--so popular in contemporaneous England and employed so readily by Puritans and Quakers to celebrate the advantages of their more hostile environments--were so seldom employed until relatively late to explain the failure of Virginia either by English critics or Virginians?<sup>122</sup> Perhaps the answer lies in the reluctance of outside critics to acknowledge the abundance of Virginia and the reluctance of supporters of Virginia to acknowledge a cause for which the only political solutions were quite unpleasant. The change may reflect the rise of a "provincial mercantilism" or the rise of a native elite seeking independence from English control, thus leaving them free to question the implicit assumption of industrious Virginians and draw upon the precedent of earlier critiques of the Crown and visitors.<sup>123</sup> However, since the Creoles never abandoned the desire for

the English carrot with regard to tobacco and never condemned tobacco planting so much as the failure to emphasize the natural, more reliable products of the country (leaving tobacco simply for windfall profits), perhaps another explanation for the change in attitude might be merely a reflection of the shift in the Crown position toward diversification.<sup>124</sup> If only necessity could drive indolent Virginians to diversify, and if the only way to avoid necessity was for the Crown to support tobacco, then Virginians could earn their carrot by claiming indolence. That Virginians never called for the Crown to use its stick to force diversification supports both Creolian and carrot interpretations.

In any event, by the late seventeenth century native Virginians like Beverley and Byrd as well as transplanted Virginians like John Clayton and Hugh Jones were proliferating environmentalist explanations for the failure of Virginia.<sup>125</sup> In 1684, John Clayton described Virginia as "a place where plenty makes poverty, Ignorance ingenuity, and covetousnesse causes hospitality that is thus every one covets so much and there is such vast extent of land that they spread so far they cannot manage well a hundred partt of what they have every one can live at ease and therefore they scorne and hate to worke to advantage themselves so are poor with abundance."<sup>126</sup> Or Beverley: "If there be any excuse for them in this Matter [their Laziness], 'tis the exceeding



plenty of good things, with which Nature has blest them; for where God Almighty is so Merciful as to work for People, they never work for themselves."<sup>127</sup> And Byrd in his description of "Lubberland": "To speak the truth, 'tis a thorough aversion to labor that makes people file off to North Carolina, where plenty and a warm sun confirm them in their disposition to laziness for their whole lives."<sup>128</sup> Similarly, Jones: "The common planters leading easy lives don't much admire labour, or any manly exercise, except horse-racing, nor diversion, except cock-fighting, in which some greatly delight. This easy way of living, and the heat of the summer makes some very lazy, who are then said to be climate-struck."<sup>129</sup>

Unlike early indolence arguments which relied heavily on Machiavellian techniques, later indolence arguments tended to rely more on moral suasion and the market to cure indolence, eschewing political necessity as earlier Virginians under the Company had abandoned martial law.<sup>130</sup> Men like Byrd and Beverley seemed to assume that they could simply shame their fellow Virginians into industry, as Beverley believed they shamed each other to reinforce the Virginian tradition of open hospitality: "If there happen to be a Churl, that either out of Covetousness, or Ill-nature, won't comply with this generous Custom, he has a mark of Infamy set upon him, and is abhorr'd by all."<sup>131</sup> "I should be ashamed," said Beverley, "to publish this slothful Indo-

lence of my Countrymen, but that I hope it will rouse them out of their Lethargy, and excite them to make the most of all those happy Advantages which Nature has given them; and if it does this, I am sure they will have the Goodness to forgive me."<sup>132</sup>

Other Virginians, while condemning indolence, seemed resolved to letting the market have its way. If the rhetoric of poverty stressed that present necessity forced extensification and increased reliance on tobacco with some manufactures, the rhetoric of indolence suggested that only greater market necessity could force diversification. However, at the level of manufactures as a potential response to necessity the difference between poverty and indolence arguments becomes rather moot. Poverty arguments tended to portray manufactures as import substitution and thus a consumption-moderating response to necessity, while indolence arguments interpreted manufactures in terms of production intensification as well as diversification and/or specialization.

Clearly one should not simplistically dichotomize Virginians on the basis of how they employed the rhetoric of poverty and indolence. Several like John Smith, Ralph Hamor, John Hammond, and Hugh Jones would be hard to place in either category, combining elements of both and stressing that some planters were indolent but others industrious.<sup>133</sup> Indeed, while the arguments summarized here might maintain some coherence, they hardly did so in the hands of any

Virginian. Most notoriously, the chief advocate of the poverty argument, William Berkeley, several times provided alternative interpretations which fit much better the indolence mold.

In the same Discourse in which he laid out the clearest statement of the poverty argument--and well after political necessity had practically disappeared from Virginia politics--Berkeley, lamenting the stubborn dependence on tobacco, could be found arguing that "never any Community of people had good done them, but against their will."<sup>134</sup> One time he even concluded "truly my Lord this is now our case, that if the Merchants give us a good price for our Tobacco wee are well, if they do not wee are much better, for that will make us fall on such Commodities as god will blesse us, for when wee know not how to excuse forty years promoting the basest and foolishhest vice in the world."<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, however much Berkeley lamented the absolute poverty of Virginians when opposing the stick of the Crown, he saw no inconsistency in recommending his own stick, such as raising internal taxes to pay the governor's salary. In this vein one could easily accept--as the French peasants did the rumor about Marie Antoinette's opinions on cake--the rumor attributed to Berkeley on the eve of Bacon's Rebellion that "if they had not Tobacco they had Cowes and fetherbeds sufficient to discharge their leavies."<sup>136</sup>

### The Rhetoric of Gentility

In this discussion we have yet to note any role for the gentility so celebrated by traditionalist historians. The idea was certainly present but rarely discussed explicitly in the Virginia literature, rather simply left implicit in the language itself. For rarely would the writings of the commentators above suggest whether they believed they were describing their own behavior as against the behavior of the generality. Indeed, taken as a whole, the language employed suggests that these writers did not consider their own behavior interpretable within either a poverty or an indolence framework. Instead they considered themselves English gentlemen leading virtuous lives, guided not by self-interest but the pursuit of the common good, totally consistent with their expressed normative values.<sup>137</sup> This complex of normative and operative values can be called "gentility," the code of an English gentleman, equally applicable in seventeenth-century Virginia as in England.<sup>138</sup> Nevertheless, these gentlemen hardly believed they escaped the rigors of necessity, for necessity played as central a role in their own values as in their descriptions of the operative and normative values of the common planters.

Sir Thomas Elyot's image of the gentleman governor, best captured in his classic The Boke named the Governour (1531), colored the views of most Englishmen, whether in England or Virginia.<sup>139</sup> Virginia gentlemen were by defini-



tion disinterested and industrious servants of the common good. If they were not disinterested and industrious, ipso facto they were not true gentlemen. For example, Hamor praised "the worthier sort" who "neede no spurr, their own innate vertues drives them a pace."<sup>140</sup> In 1624, the Governor, Council, and Assembly went so far as to deny that the "great" planters had or would attempt to enrich themselves by trade, taking advantage of the "Necessity" of other planters in a time of scarcity of corn.<sup>141</sup>

Most of the gentlemen writers, however, believed themselves among a select minority. Whenever confrontations arose between the governor and council or Virginians felt unjustly excluded from office due to usurpation by inferiors and parvenus, the field was ripe for faction.<sup>142</sup> And wherever there were political factions, gentlemen throughout the seventeenth century were quick to challenge in private and public the disinterestedness and thus the gentility of other "so-called gentlemen," employing the rhetoric familiar to modern historians under the rubric "classical republicanism" with its condemnations of faction, particular or private interests, corruption, enslaving tyranny, as well as praise for the liberty and competency of virtuous individuals.<sup>143</sup>

In their perpetual critique of the excessive pursuit of self-interest by other individuals, these writers effectively implied that their own behavior and policy recommendations were guided not by such self-interest but rather by a

concern for the common good. Sometimes they positively lauded their own virtue, like Governor Harvey in 1632 who claimed "all my actions and ends have tended to the Publique welfare of this collonie, And not at all any private ends" and Governor Spotswood who, in 1716, testified "greediness of gain is no prominent Principle in me."<sup>144</sup> More frequently they got others to praise their virtue for them, stressing how they sacrificed their private interest for the common good, like planters and officials who experimented with alternative staples and set up manufactures as examples for the other planters.<sup>145</sup> So undoubtedly monotonous were such claims that Governor Berkeley--perhaps hoping a little humor would improve his case when he sought in 1667 to defend his regular claim for the award of the customs on a shipment of tobacco--abandoned years of rhetoric about all his work for the public good to claim solely that "though Ambition comonly leaves sober old age covetuousness does not."<sup>146</sup>

Nevertheless, behind Berkeley's parody, as behind all humor, lay an element of truth. Clearly the multifarious petitions for rewards for public service reflected a rather blurry distinction on the part of the public servant between the desire for honor and the desire for reward.<sup>147</sup> Behind the justification for a competent reward lay the same acceptance of the reality of self-interestedness that underlay political economy, while ambiguously preserving much of the traditional gentlemanly baggage of virtue triumphant over

self-interest. Several observers stressed the need to reward virtuous acts in order to encourage a present action or not discourage future actions for the common good.<sup>148</sup> In turn a competent reward ensured that public officials would be able to avoid the temptation of corruption, while the fear of loss would insure faithful service.<sup>149</sup> Burgesses criticized the contract purchase of tobacco at a fixed price and quantity as prejudicial to the settlement of the colony because "the free use and benefitt of the trade of our comodity will much encourage persons of quality to adventure themselves and their Estates hither when they shall...make the best proffitt in the sale of their tobaccos."<sup>150</sup> Indeed, at times the gentility argument as expressed in Virginia, suggested that "any men of parts, ability, and integrity" would not even serve in a public capacity if the rewards were not competent.<sup>151</sup>

Ideally Elyot's governor had to possess a "competent substance to live without taking rewards," to support the place and dignity of his office lest the government fall into contempt, and to enable the governor to avoid the temptation of corruption.<sup>152</sup> But if sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Englishmen believed that governors should possess a competency, they also believed governors should be justly rewarded for their services for the common good and that persons in a public station should be competently supported to avoid ruining themselves and their families and

thus placing the state at risk of corruption and rebellion.<sup>153</sup> Often the line between competency as prerequisite and entitlement became rather ambiguous.<sup>154</sup> Thus Sir William Temple noted that one explanation for the abuse of multiple offices in England resulted from revenue insufficient in any one office "to furnich a man with what is sufficient for the support of his life, or discharge of his place."<sup>155</sup>

Both views of the gentleman--the governor already possessing a competency and the impoverished courtier entitled to a competency--coexisted in seventeenth-century Virginia. While condemning the avarice of those seeking office for the reward, Spotswood contrasted the behavior of "Gentlemen of better understanding and more plentifull Estates, not tempted with the same desire of Gain."<sup>156</sup> In the choice of Council members and other principal officers in Virginia, the Crown instructed her royal governors "always to take care that they be men of Estates and abilities and not necessitous nor much in debt."<sup>157</sup> While denying any "greediness of gain" on their part, these Virginia gentlemen nevertheless strongly defended their traditional stipends, fees, and perquisites of office.<sup>158</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, the Crown and Burgesses alike approved the practice of granting such perquisites to compensate official for sacrificing their private interest while serving the public interest.<sup>159</sup>



While Virginians might agree that the nominee should not be deeply in debt or be necessitated to take the post, this did not stop these gentlemen from claiming necessity to justify their claims for relief. Clearly there was one standard for others and another standard for oneself, a double standard of which gentlemen in England were equally guilty, like Elyot himself when he petitioned for monastic land based on his "indigence" incurred in state service. Furthermore, what Frank Whigham calls "Elyot's harping rhetoric of penury" can be found wherever there is a notion of charity or patronage, with its tropes of the flattery of the donor's bounty and the donee's self-deprecation.<sup>160</sup> Indeed the whole idea of pay for public service, begun in ancient Greece as a means of poor relief in democratic polities (in contrast to oligarchic polities which condemned such pay), was certainly as old as Parliament in England.<sup>161</sup>

From the beginning of the Virginia colony into the eighteenth century, impoverished gentlemen openly sought political appointment to rescue them from necessity.<sup>162</sup> Often the idea took the form of petitioning the Crown directly for a relief of present necessity.<sup>163</sup> In 1632 Harvey did not know "how I shalle bee able to subsist, untill I may receive sum succour and relief from his Majesties Royall bounty" and "if some speedie remedie and reliefe be not found for me, not onlie my creditt but my hart will breake."<sup>164</sup> Berkeley in 1641 asked for the governorship of Virginia after the House

of Lords had taken away his "whole subsistence."<sup>165</sup> Here we also see most strongly the similarity between the rhetorics of gentility and poverty, both of which gave central place to petitions to relieve poverty.<sup>166</sup>

Great planter, common planter, and servant alike bowed before the law of necessity. The governor was at once a public and private figure. The public ideal of the governor presumed a private competency but that competency was always subject to misfortune, which Thomas Ludwell lamented "is not in the power of any vertue or prudence att all times to prevent."<sup>167</sup> If public necessity was a central concern of the governor in his public capacity, he certainly could not ignore private necessity in his private capacity.<sup>168</sup>

Virginia gentlemen understood that necessity was also the mother of invention. George Sandys observed in 1623 that "Captain Hamor is miserablíe poore and necessitie will inforce him to shiftes."<sup>169</sup> Ludwell reported that Berkeley had insufficient allowance to

comporte with ye Grandeur of his authority nor comply wth his greate expences in setting up Manufactures, and other excellent designes for ye good and Example of this Country, did not his necessities make him admirably Industrious on his farme for ye improvement of his Revenue, which unavoideably diverts much of that Care hee otherwise would wholly imploy for ye Publique utillity of this Colony."<sup>170</sup>

Finally, necessity helps explain the inner thoughts of at least one gentleman, William Byrd II, in particular why he secretly thought of himself as a lazy man. As Kenneth Lynn so well describes,

in a prose sketch of his own character (punningly entitled 'Inamorato L'Oiseaux'), Byrd declared that 'Nature gave him all the Talents in the World for business except Industry, which of all others is the most necessary. This is the spring and life and spirit of preferment, and makes a man bustle thro all difficulty, and foil all opposition. Laziness mires a man in the degree in which he was born, and clogs the wheels of the finest qualification, Fortune may make a Lazy Fellow great: but he will never make himself so.'<sup>171</sup>

Taken as a whole with the corpus of his work, one can only conclude as Lynn does that Byrd was describing "a tendency which he felt in himself, and which he overcame by force of will and effort of mind," a tendency to be feared above all "because the task of being a gentleman in America demanded so much effort."<sup>172</sup> Within the language of necessity, however, Byrd simply saw in himself a basic human instinct that he saw in others which, regardless of his training, he could not overcome.

### Beyond the Operative

Historians have often treated the rhetoric of seventeenth-century Virginia as "special pleading" for planter interests and undoubtedly there is much truth in such assertions.<sup>173</sup> Dissimulation was an art widely encouraged in much early modern literature.<sup>174</sup> Colonial promotion literature tended to bring out the Machiavellianism inherent in early modern statecraft.<sup>175</sup> The demands of colonial politics--most importantly seeking favorable policy from the mother country--clearly shaped much of the language coming

out of Virginia. We can imagine, as John Hammond, did that if an individual could prove that he was personally disinterested in the outcome of a particular project then people would tend to accept his analysis as relatively objective.<sup>176</sup>

Interjecting the concept of operative values into the traditional historical dichotomy of normative values and behavior both reinforces and challenges this "realist" view of ideas. Except for a small set of like-minded gentlemen, Virginians did not think that they would voluntarily seek to promote the common good. But with good laws, good preaching, and the proper example of virtuous gentlemen, Virginians did believe that they would act in a manner consistent with the common good. Clearly neither realist nor idealist approaches can satisfactorily explain such operative values let alone seek to unite the operative and normative languages.

Whether analyzing high- and low-wage theory in Britain or the rhetoric of poverty, indolence, and gentility in Virginia, we see the difficulty of placing any particular individual cleanly within one camp. The ease with which individuals shifted between these theories and rhetorics suggests the differences between them represent differences in purpose (political, moral) and mood (pessimism, optimism) more than fixed world views. All of these sets of ideas were available as needed for the particular problem at hand and the choice was dependent upon a host of material, structur-



al, and ideological factors. But more importantly, in their normative and operative values what English and Virginia thinkers shared in common far outweighed their differences. In this way we can fairly speak of the "mind" of seventeenth-century Englishmen whether in England or Virginia. Still left to examine, however, is just how closely this mind matches their actual behavior.

### Notes

1. Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf: Tobacco Through the Centuries (Boston: Little, 1952) 113; Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, "Operation Checkmate: the Birth and Death of a Virginia Blueprint for Progress 1660-1676," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 24 (1967): 58. Cf. the earlier statement by Spencer: "Their greatest enemy to be feared is their Poverty thro' the small or no value of their tobacco, unless the King give his assent to a cessation--a check to all other manufactories--their greatest hope in flax, in which they are still very unskilful." See "Virginia in 1680-1681," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 25 (1917): 271.

2. William Fitzhugh, William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents, ed. Richard Beale Davis (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1963) 101, 103. On Fitzhugh's relationship to Spencer, see Richard Beale Davis, ed., William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1963) 76n1.

3. David Bertelson similarly seeks to link up British and Virginian schools of thought, categorizing writers as "attractionists" (i.e., high-wage theorists) or "coercionists" (i.e., low-wage theorists), but although he notes the importance of the concept of "necessity" in the development of seventeenth-century thought, he never really develops the point either for England or Virginia. Cf. David Bertelson, The Lazy South (New York: Oxford UP, 1967) 3-34, esp. 31-3. Though I do not agree with Bertelson, nevertheless I must acknowledge my indebtedness to his work for doing much to stimulate my own thoughts on the subject.

4. Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1947) 17, 296-7.

5. For contemporary descriptions, see "Aspinwall Papers," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th ser. 9 (1871): 108, 110; William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809-23) 2: 221-2, 516; Anon., The Planters Plea, or The Grounds of Plantation Examined, and vsuall Objections answered, Tracts and Other Papers, comp. Peter Force, Vol. 2, No. 3 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947) 1; John Hammond, Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia, and Mary-land, Tracts and Other Papers, comp. Peter Force, Vol. 3, No. 14 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947) 9, 19-20; Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, and the College, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, 1940) 6; Beverley 55; Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia from Whence Is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1956) 91-2, 129-45. For the Company years, see Bertelson 19-20, 26-9, 249n3, 250n29; John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription To Persuasion: Manipulation of Eighteenth [Seventeenth] Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1974) 27-8; Gary B. Nash, "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 29 (1972) 208-9; Loren E. Pennington, "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature 1575-1625," The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650, eds. K. R. Andrews et al. (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1979) 175-94; Jon Kukla, Political Institutions in Virginia, 1619-1660 (New York: Garland, 1989) 28, 42, 65. For later years, see Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed., The Present State of Virginia, and the College, by Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg, 1940) lxii-lxiii; Jane Dennison Carson, "Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Virginia: A Study in Colonial Policy," diss., U of Virginia, 1951, 206-7, 212-6; Leonard 44-74; Rainbolt 26-31, 142-4; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: Norton, 1975) 192. In this chapter, I push the limits of the seventeenth century to include the insightful early eighteenth-century work of Robert Beverley II, William Byrd II, Hugh Jones, Alexander Spotswood, and others.

6. Joseph Ewen and Nesta Ewen, John Banister and His Natural History of Virginia 1678-1692 (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1970) 40.

7. E. A. J. Johnson, American Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century (London: King, 1932) 51; Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization 1606-1865, 5 vols. (New York: Viking, 1946-59) 1: 5, 25-6; Bertelson 3-15, 19-20, 26-7, 35.

8. E. Johnson, American 56; Bertelson 9-15, 20, 38-9.

9. In contrast, Englishmen saw New England--where promotional literature under Puritan influence expressed the lowered expectations of a potential paradise suited only for the industrious--as relatively more successful. See Peter N. Carroll, Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier, 1629-1700 (New York: Columbia UP, 1969) 2-16, 50-5.

10. "Virginia in 1626-27," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 16 (1908): 35. Cf. "Virginia in 1637," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (1901): 176-7; "Instructions to Berkeley, 1662," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 3 (1895): 17. See also Bertelson 27-9. On the belief in more profitable staples as early as 1620, see Bertelson 27-8; A Perfect Description of Virginia, Tracts and Other Papers, comp. Peter Force, Vol. 2, No. 8 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947) 6; Hening 1: 420; Hammond 19; Thomas Glover, An Account of Virginia, its Scituation, Temperature, Productions, Inhabitants and their manner of planting and ordering Tobacco &c (1676; Oxford: Horace Hart, 1904) 12; Ewen and Ewen 40. Thomas Jefferson employed similar language in the late eighteenth century. See Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia (New York: Harper, 1964) 159.

11. Hartwell et al. 3-7.

12. Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585-1763, 3 vols. (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1978) 1: 15.

13. Davis, Intellectual 1: 19, 73-4; Beverley 35. See further Chapter 1.

14. Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1906-35) 4: 493; Bertelson 19, 35-7; Darrett B. Rutman, The Morning of America, 1603-1789 (Boston: Houghton, 1971) 27-34. Cf. Hening 1: 114; "Aspinwall Papers" 73, 108.

15. For other examples, see Perfect Description; Durand de Dauphiné, A Huguenot Exile in Virginia, ed. Gilbert Chinard (New York: P of the Pioneers, 1934) 111-27, 175; Beverley 35, 123-6, 146, 153, 275, 287, 292-3, 296-7; John Lawson, A



New Voyage to Carolina (London, 1709) 79-81; H. Jones, Present State 46, 83, 129-45. See also Farish lxii; Leonard 61-2, 70; Alden T. Vaughan, "The Evolution of Virginia History: Early Historians of the First Colony," Perspectives on Early American History: Essays in Honor of Richard B. Morris, eds. Alden T. Vaughan and George Athan Billias (New York: Harper, 1973) 15; Rainbolt 142, 166. For frontier literature, see Arthur K. Moore, The Frontier Mind: A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman (Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1957) 25-43; Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1973) 25; Ray Allen Billington, Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Norton, 1981) 215-25; Robert M. Bliss, Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990) 32. Virginians unanimously believed that, whatever the reasons for Virginia's failure to live up to its promise, the problem did not lie in the land itself. See, e.g., H. Jones, Present State 47, 101; Bertelson 20, 67. See also discussion of the present state literature below. Besides indolence and poverty, Virginians offered numerous explicit explanations for this failure, with certain arguments more popular at various times: lack of skills among immigrants, the low character of immigrants, insufficient public capital, martial law, corruption of early leaders, avarice in years of high tobacco prices, tobacco as the sole currency, Company monopoly, fear of Indians in the early years, lack of "publick encouragement to assist the Planter in those more chargeable undertakings", dismembering of the colony in the founding of Maryland and later the Northern Neck grant, restrictions on free trade, lack of towns and markets, the Navigation Acts, factional disputes, catastrophes, God's will, later Crown encouragement of tobacco and discouragement of diversification, the abundance of land, lack of interest on the part of merchants, lack of foresightedness, and the desire only to make a quick crop and return to England. See, e.g., H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1658/59 (Richmond, 1915) 126; Hammond 7; William Berkeley, A Discourse and View of Virginia (London, 1663) 4-8; Hening 2: 515-6; Glover 12; Ewen and Ewen 40; Hartwell et al. 7, 9-10; Beverley 72, 135, 319; Lawson 112-3; Alexander Spotswood, The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, ed. R. A. Brock, 2 vols. (Richmond, 1882) 2: 43, 48, 61-2, 73. See also Harold Lee Hitchens, "Sir William Berkeley, Virginian Economist," William and Mary Quarterly 2nd ser. 18 (1938): 167; Carson, "Berkeley" 205-7, 216-8; Robert E. Brown and B. Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy? (East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1964) 8-10; Leonard 50-1; Bertelson 51; Rainbolt 57; Morgan, American Slavery 187-91. While English officials emphasized the low character of settlers, the most popular explanation



among Virginians for the colony's failure in the early years of settlement was the lack of desire among early settlers to settle permanently in the colony, coming only "to gett a little wealth by Tobacco...and to return to Englande." See Bliss 20-1. See also E. Johnson, American 39; Morgan, American Slavery 89-90; Kukla, Political Institutions 28-30. Sometime around the 1630s, Virginians stopped using non-permanence as an explanation. See McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 60; Berkeley 5-6; Beverley 30; William Byrd, The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover: Narratives of a Colonial Virginian, ed. Louis B. Wright (Cambridge: Belknap, 1966) 159-60; Bliss 20-1. Berkeley's comments in 1663 are the one exception that proves the rule. See Carson, "Berkeley" 205; Leonard 60; Morgan, American Slavery 191. These historians have made much of this comment as proof of the operative values of late seventeenth-century Virginians, but the comment was totally atypical. There is ample evidence that numerous colonists indeed sought to return permanently to England, but no one apart from Berkeley in this one instance ever identified this as a major operative value or the basis of Virginia's problems. See Kenneth S. Lynn, Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor (Boston: Little, 1959) 4; Davis, Fitzhugh 15-6; Carole Shammas, "English-Born and Creole Elites in Turn-of-the-Century Virginia," The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 282-3.

16. For an early example, see "Virginia in 1628," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 7 (1900): 258-9.

17. "Narrative of Bacon's Rebellion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1896): 139.

18. Beverley 68.

19. Although perhaps appearing to be self-serving and out-of-place in seventeenth-century Virginia, this belief actually lay at the heart of high-wage theory as applied to the working classes. Bertelson noting the tension in the attractionist argument linking both the desire for wealth and ease, suggests that although the colony would have preferred industrious immigrants, they faced the "stark reality" that the only potential immigrants came from the ranks of the idle and thus had to believe that the Virginia soil could work a transformation even if they knew this was unlikely. See Bertelson 14-5, 22, 26. E. A. J. Johnson finds this belief simply naive. See E. Johnson, American 78. However, if there was a bias or naivety, it was due more to convenient politics than optimism. In the face of criticisms from England of the indolence of the colonists, Virginia officials could hardly seek concessions from the Crown if those

criticisms were not refuted. Indeed, following the argument of Lord Baltimore that despite the low price of tobacco an industrious man could make more money in Maryland than in England, the Crown put the onus on Virginians to prove they were not indolent. See Hitchens 167-8; Leonard 55; Morgan, American Slavery 194. There were two solutions to proving colonial industry: either colonists were already industrious before coming or the New World transformed them. Both arguments were employed in Berkeley's Discourse in his celebration of the good families who had immigrated along with the transformation of the common sort.

20. Hammond highlighted this transformation but attributed it more to emulation or imitation of the virtuous people in Virginia, led by good laws. See Hammond 16-7. See also Bertelson 63-5.

21. For contemporary descriptions, see Ralph Hamor, A True Discourse on the Present Estate of Virginia, Virginia: Four Personal Narratives (New York: Arno, 1972) 19, 22, 24; John Rolf, Virginia in 1616, Virginia: Four Personal Narratives (New York: Arno, 1972) 104, 107; Hammond 7-14. Cf. George Alsop, A Character of the Province of Maryland, ed. John Gilmore Shea (1666; New York, 1869) 42-3, 54. See also E. Johnson, American 35-9; Dorfman 1: 25; Bertelson 14-5, 19, 30-1, 35-43, 66-9, 80-1; Rutman, Morning 27-34; R. Nash, Wilderness 25-6; Rainbolt 13-4; Davis, Intellectual 1: 9-46, 66-102; 3: 1372-4; Billington 1, 5-10.

22. H. Jones, Present State 46.

23. Beverley 275. See also "Aspinwall Papers" 8-9; Beverley 35, 319.

24. Indeed, carrot and stick often went hand in hand in colonial legislation. See Kingsbury 4: 452; Rainbolt 83-5. See further Chapter 3.

25. E. Johnson, American 85-8; Davis, Intellectual 3: 1572. On English developments, see J. A. W. Gunn, Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century (London: Routledge, 1969) 214-6. Historians have frequently incorrectly jumped to the conclusion of equating such self-interestedness with avarice. For example, T. H. Breen interprets George Donne's comment that "'till of very late daies every mans owne particular profitt hath bene more earnestly pursued then the comodity of the Country it selfe'" as an example of "the driving ambition for quick riches" and "unrestrained economic activity." However, the statement (even when taken out of context) implies no such thing. Indeed, the statement fits much more naturally in the context of the contrast between transient and permanent settlers. See n. 15

above. Furthermore, Donne explicitly highlighted indolence as the particular sin of Virginia. See discussion below. Similar problems confound all historians who attempt to force fit their piecemeal readings of the literary evidence from seventeenth-century Virginia into the Wertenbaker mold. See T. H. Breen, "George Donne's 'Virginia Reviewed': A 1638 Plan to Reform Colonial Society," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 30 (1973): 451-2, 459. For Virginians it was hard to link excessive concentration on tobacco to chrematistics since planters so obviously ignored the great potential for wealth in other staples. Virginians certainly knew avarice when they saw it since they had no hesitancy in making the charge against merchants, attorneys, and physicians; and planters were certainly not immune to the sin. See Chapter 3. Yet outside of comments about the desire to return to England, there were only a couple of mentions of greed or avarice among "planters" as the source of Virginia's problems. The only ambiguous statements I have found that do not link greed to the desire to return to England is that by Sir John Harvey in 1630 and a petition by several prominent Virginians in 1638. Harvey, upon his return to Virginia in 1630 as the newly appointed governor, found "the affaires of the Country...miserable perplexed through wante of corne, which the people had the last year generallie neglected to plant, in regard of their greedie desires to make store of Tobackoe, for remedie whereof wee made an act to augment the quantitie of corne & restraîne their excess in Tobackoe." See "Virginia in 1629 and 1630," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 7 (1900): 376, 380. More commonly Harvey simply acknowledged excessive concentration on tobacco due either to self-interest or some unknown cause, but always well assured that good laws and proper enforcement combined with the fertility of soil, mildness of climate, and prosperity would lead Virginia "to bee made as Sicilye to Rome, the Granarie to his Majesties Empire, especiallie to all our Northerne Plantations." See "Aspinwall Papers" 72-3(24), 110(34); "Virginia in 1629 and 1630" 381-2; Robert C. Johnson, ed., "Virginia in 1632," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 65 (1957): 459; "Virginia in 1632-33-34," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 8 (1900): 157. For example, in response to complaints from England about the poor quality of tobacco, Harvey blamed not the planters for the difficulty but the merchants who were so greedy they would refuse none of what base condition soever, although the acts clearly prescribed burning. See "Virginia in 1637," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (1902): 272. In 1638 Harvey, with the Council under his control, criticized the self-interestedness of the Burghesses for attempting to raise their production maximum--suggesting a tendency perhaps for planters to wish to increase production--but does not link this self-interestedness to any more particular cause. See McIlwaine, 1619-



1658/59 xxxvi, 61. In the same year, other leading Virginians seeking to promote a tobacco contract with English merchants blamed the failure to built towns and good houses on "'the gredines after great quantities of Tobacco'" that caused planters to remove continually from one plantation to another. See Morgan, American Slavery 183. Cf. below the contrary explanation of this extensification process offered by the Burgesses.

26. For timeless statements of the ubiquitous lack of concern for the common good, see Strachey, qtd. in Kukla, Political Institutions 15; Leonard 58; Hartwell et al. 5.; Spotswood 1: 111-2, 140; 2: 2, 32, 300. For complaints about freedmen, see Morgan, American Slavery 238. If in seventeenth-century England, the more democratically minded gradually moved from the position that common men best knew their own interests to the position that common men might then understand the public interest, Virginia showed no such democratic inclination. Cf. Gunn, Politics 30-1. See also below sections on the rhetorics of indolence and gentility.

27. Leonard 58-9, 72-3.

28. Hamor 17; Rolf 106; McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 36; Hammond 8. See also E. Johnson, American 85-8, 225-39; Dorfman 1: 31-2, 61; Morgan, American Slavery 81-3; Davis, Intellectual 3: 1572. However, New England writers (and presumably Virginia writers would have also) continued to justify what Johnson calls "a modified Aristotelian communism of use" or Winthrop's "community of perill," temporary communisms in particular situations for settling new communities, sacrificing liberty to necessity. See E. Johnson, American 236-8.

29. E.g., Hening 1: 216-7, 296, 414, 397, 476; 2: 226. The English author William Bullock went so far as to extend the principle to servants under indenture. See William Bullock, Virginia Impartially examined, and left to publick view, to be considered by all judicious and honest men (London, 1649) 62.

30. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 58-62; Hening 1: 361-2; Hartwell et al. 71-2; Spotswood 1: 165-6; 2: 20-2, 43, 48, 61-2, 319. See also Chapter 3 on avarice. See Rutman, Morning 63, 67; Rainbolt 83.

31. On faith in the ability of law and government, see Hening 1: 347; Leonard 58; E. Johnson, American 261; Rainbolt 83; Morgan, American Slavery 188. On belief in the necessity of government, see Hening 2: 531-2; E. Johnson, American 11, 15, 30, 88, 119, 241-61; Dorfman 1: 44; Bertelson 30-1; Kukla, Political Institutions 37-9, 208-9. On



heavy fines for moral and religious laws against idleness, gaming, drunkenness, excess in apparel, etc., see Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1956) 105. Robert Beverley noted that the Burgesses imposed taxes on white women put to work in the ground to discourage this activity contrary to custom. See Beverley 271-2. At times the Burgesses passed laws with no sanctions merely to encourage but not to require a particular behavior. See, e.g., Hening 1: 151. But clearly, Virginians did not place much faith in the efficacy of such recommendations, reflected in several revised laws introducing sanctions to correct the abuse of laws with no previous sanctions. See, e.g., Hening 2: 235; Spotswood 1: 51; 2: 20-2. The 1694 abridgment of the laws of Virginia suggests that laws nominally on the books but not enforced were considered "disused." See "An Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 9 (1902) 273-88, 369-84; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 10 (1902): 49-64, 145-60; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 10 (1903): 241-54. More generally, faith in sanctions is reflected in series of laws passed with successively wider restrictions, stronger sanctions, and tighter inspection and enforcement. A classic example is the steady increase in penalties for neglecting corn and growing excessive or poor quality tobacco, beginning with the oaths of neighbors and censure in 1624, and adding over the years the forfeiture of the entire tobacco crop, public burning, prohibition of transfer of rights, restrictions on future planting only under authorization by General Assembly, authorized breaking-and-entering of any house possibly containing illegal tobacco, whipping complicit servants, the employment of public constables and rewards for informers. See Hening 1: 126, 152, 164, 344; "Acts of the General Assembly, Jan. 6, 1639-40," William and Mary Quarterly 2nd ser. 4 (1924): 30. However, although tightening sanctions suggest non-compliance, the remarkably few number of court cases in colonial and county records suggests relative compliance. For exceptional cases, see Hening 2: 36; "A Violation of a Tobacco Planting Law, 1691," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 6 (1899): 397.

32. Leonard 51-2. On responsiveness to price incentives, see, e.g., McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 17, 24; Kingsbury 4: 452; Hening 1: 125, 173. On removal of incentives, see, e.g., McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 62; Hening 2: 201. Sometimes the impact of an incentive was expressed in terms of hope rather than profit. See, e.g., Hening 2: 241-2.

33. On lack of awareness, emphasis on education, and the need for wealthier men to set the example, see Perfect Description 6; Fitzhugh 101; William Byrd, The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia 1684-

1776, ed. Marion Tinling, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1977) 1: 379.

34. John Rainbolt believes that, since only the great planters were in a position to earn the bounties offered for greatly surpassing minimal requirements, the system was biased: carrots for great planters and sticks for poor planters. See Rainbolt 37, 83. However, although the differential stick for the poorer planters and carrot for the wealthier planters is consistent with indolence and gentility rhetoric, this was not the dominant view of Virginians and its validity as an interpretation of the mind and behavior is questionable since the minimum requirements applied to all and both penalties and bounties appeared and disappeared spasmodically (as Rainbolt himself notes) under constant complaints. Furthermore, premiums like salaries served to compensate an individual for activities undertaken for the common good but which were contrary to the private good of the individual, either in lost time, effort, capital, or increased risk of loss. See, e.g., Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1895; New York: Peter Smith, 1935) 2: 141-2; Leonard 72-3; Rainbolt 88-90. Another explanation for the relative lack of class rhetoric may be the absence of a large working class due to the extensive use of indentured servants and later slaves in seventeenth-century Virginia. Cf. E. Johnson, American 205-13; Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia UP, 1946) 3-7, 50-2, 55-135; Dorfman 1: 45-6, 63-4, 117-8. See, however, discussion below under the rhetoric of gentility for divisions along gentile-vulgar lines.

35. Berkeley 5-6; "Virginia in 1680-1681" 270; Reasons Humbly Offered, For not Doubling the Subsidy on Tobacco from Virginia and Maryland, &c. (London, 1720) 1-2.

36. See, e.g., E. Johnson, American 118; Perfect Description 6. Bullock recommends any "slight Engines, that will save hand-labour, there being nothing dear in the Countrey but labour." See Bullock 62-3.

37. E. Johnson, American 118; Byrd, Correspondence 1: 63-4; Hartwell et al. 7, 9; Bertelson 52-3.

38. Rainbolt 51-2, 122. Rainbolt incorrectly treats such statements as typical of Virginian thought. As further argument will show, an emphasis on relative price effects, while typical of many statements by British low-wage theorists when applied to the middle and upper classes, were highly atypical in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Virginia in the face of a ubiquitous presumption of the central role of necessity in an essentially one-crop econo-

my. Indeed, such extraneous comments seem more closely linked to the rhetoric of indolence than poverty.

39. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 17, 24, 26-7, 36, 49, 121, 105; E. Johnson, American 207; Dorfman 1: 19-20.

40. Beverley 286. Cf. E. Johnson, American 87.

41. Beverley 272-4; E. Johnson, American 39; Bertelson 29; Pierre Marambaud, William Byrd of Westover 1674-1744 (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1971) 258; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984) 130-1.

42. Bullock even advocated paying wages to indentured servants because "it keepes a Servant in heart, and makes him at all times willing to put forth his strength in that Masters service, that gives him meanes to thrive." See Bullock 52, 62-3. Historians of economic thought in colonial America have regularly commented on the prevalence of low-wage theory, referring primarily to New England, while noting the relative absence of references to wages in Virginia due to extensive use of indentured servants. See E. Johnson, American 30-2, 106, 205-13, esp. 207, 212; Morris 3-7, 45-135, esp. 86-90; Dorfman 1: 44-6, 63-4, 117-8. For a classic example of low-wage theory in the South, see John Brickell qtd. in Bertelson 76. Given the dominant forced labor system and the lack of any discussion of a supplementary wage system (outside of Bullock's work), the concerns of Virginia planters were hardly those of the high-wage theorists. However, lacking evidence on planter beliefs about servant motivation and management, we should not jump to Edmund Morgan's conclusions about the dominance of low-wage theory in both England and Virginia as reflected in "the complaints that masters in every age have made against servants." See Morgan, American Slavery 316-27, esp. 319. Chapter 4 should clearly disprove Morgan's conclusion with regards to England.

43. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 45. See also "Virginia in 1624-25," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 7 (1899): 133; Hening 1: 135; McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 24, 36; Hitchens 163; Carson, "Berkeley" 246-53. Planters seemed far less fearful of the risks and uncertainties of the market and nature as long as such risks and uncertainties could be compensated by additional reward, going so far as to permit forestalling in the servant trade due to the high risk of death during the seasoning period. See Hening 1: 245.

44. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 105.

45. Berkeley 3.



46. Hamor 17; McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 36, 59-60; Hammond 8; E. Johnson, American 232-5; Dorfman 1: 22.

47. Berkeley 3-4.

48. E. Johnson, American 78. For other statements, see Hammond 9, 16-7.

49. Davis, Intellectual 1: 96.

50. Jacob Vanderlint, Money Answers all Things, ed. Jacob H. Hollander (1734; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1914) 18-9; William Petty, The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty, ed. Charles Henry Hull, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1899) 1: 275, 300-2. See also Chapters 2 and 3.

51. Most comments about tobacco overproduction offered no deeper causal analysis than the observation that overproduction arose from planters planting great quantities of tobacco. See, e.g., McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 126; Hening 1: 224-5; Ewen and Ewen 40, 360-1, 372n65; Lawson 164; Jefferson 159. In 1662 the Burgesses noted the problem was due to the increase in the number of tobacco producers in Virginia even though they had "already glutted all marketts." See Hening 2: 120.

52. On Crown attitudes, see "Virginia in 1637" 176-7.

53. "Affairs in Virginia in 1626," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 2 (1894): 53; Hening 2: 241-2; Leonard 73. Rainbolt misconstrues these premiums as reflecting an "economic mind" resting on "a pyramid of assumptions" on the part of the legislators, especially "the belief that the example of even minor success would cause wholesale and voluntary pursuit of a new economic endeavor. This conviction rested upon the assumption that a lack of will or 'industry' rather than basic economic forces was the greatest obstacle which the colony's leadership had to overcome, an opinion, finally, which a logical conclusion from the basic premise of the extraordinary fecundity of the land and its proclivity to yield its fertility to the art of the industrious." See Rainbolt 88-90. Admittedly, on the surface, Rainbolt's interpretation is supported by the preamble to a 1666 law ordering each county to set up public looms and weavers: "Whereas the present obstruction of trade and the nakednes of the country doe suffitiently evidence the necessity of provideing supply of our wants by improveing all meanes of raysing and promoteing manufactures amonge ourselves, and the governours honour haveing by apparent demonstrations manifested that our poverty and necessity proceeds more from want of industry then defect of ability, since that five women or children of 12 or 13 yeares of age



may with much ease provide sufficient cloathing for thirty persons, if they would betake themselves to spinning." See Hening 2: 238-9. Assuming requisite awareness and given the ability of each county to set up looms, then, indeed, only a lack of industry prevented diversification. But this was a very particular case in which the resources were ready at hand and not constrained by poverty. Furthermore, the lacking industry was restricted to women and children--the result of the "fond indulgence or perverse obstinacy" of parents who were "most averse and unwilling to parte with theire children"--rather than indolence. Cf. Hening 1: 336-7. Even so the want of industry was fairly involuntary on the part of the women and children since their industry required the setting up of public looms. For example, in a 1682 act prohibiting the exportation of iron, wool, wool-fells, skins, hides, or leather, the Burgesses hoped by this act that these raw materials "would be found profittable for the setting to work many men, women and children in this country which lye idle for want of imployment, and some naked for want of such necessaries as might be wrought out of the same." See Hening 2: 493. Other laws, however, are ambiguous on the voluntary or involuntary nature of idleness. See, e.g., Hening 2: 298. Of course, these Virginians never presumed that children would likewise be transformed by hope and opportunity and indeed believed strongly in proper education and praised apprenticeships as useful "to avoyd sloath and idlenesse wherewith such young children are easily corrupted." See Hening 1: 311-2, 336-7; C. Robert Haywood, "The Influence of Mercantilism on Social Attitudes in the South, 1700-1763," Journal of the History of Ideas 20 (1959): 585. But these kind of reservations were in stark contrast to indolence rhetoricians who indeed attributed all failure to pursue alternative staples to a lack of industry.

54. Breen, "1638 Plan" 462; Hening 2: 238-9. See also Beverley 72, 135; Carson, "Berkeley" 230; Leonard 48n11, 53-4, 58; Bertelson 50; Marambaud 180; Rainbolt 82-3. See also section below on the rhetoric of gentility.

55. Perfect Description 6.

56. H. Jones, Present State 81.

57. H. Jones, Present State 146.

58. See, e.g., "Aspinwall Papers" 8-9; Hening 1: 209-10; 2: 201; McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 62.

59. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 121-2; Dorfman 1: 19-22; Hammond 8.

60. "Virginia in 1629 and 1630" 381-2.

61. However, one possible exception is the extraordinary statement by Berkeley which more likely highlights the "indolence" elements in his thought: "'truly my Lord this is now our case, that if the Merchants give us a good price for our Tobacco wee are well, if they do not wee are much better, for that will make us fall on such Commodities as god will blesse us, for when wee know not how to excuse forty years promoting the basest and foolishhest vice in the world.'" Qtd. in Carson, "Berkeley" 207. See also Hitchens 167; Leonard 61. The problem lies in whether we should interpret "will make us fall on" as an effect of relative price or necessity. A similar statement was made by John Worlidge in his Systema Agriculturae, Being the Mystery of Husbandry (London, 1681) in his defense of English tobacco growers, suggesting that by allowing domestic production in England "'the Trade of Virginia would alter into other Commodities, as Silk, Wine, and Oyl.'" Qtd. in Rainbolt 48-9. But surely no Virginian, no matter how much they recognized the logic of Worlidge's argument, would have accepted the implications of the one policy on which everybody with any interest in Virginia was wholly in accord. See further the section below on the rhetoric of indolence.

62. Hammond 14; Bullock 62. This, of course, does not deny a concomitant faith in physical coercion for reinforcing proper behavior in servants and non-Englishmen.

63. Berkeley 5-6.

64. "Virginia in 1625-26" Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 15 (1908): 368.

65. Kingsbury 3: 580.

66. Kingsbury 3: 589; McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 45-7, 58-62; Hening 3: 142. Since Virginia was so fertile that she provided all the necessities of life, by poverty Virginians probably did not typically mean sheer survival (despite their rhetoric) but rather relative poverty judged by English standards. See Chapter 3. Indeed, most descriptive comments centered on clothing--the chief necessary that Virginians did not expect the land to produce naturally and for which English manufacturers were always searching for a vent--with horrid tales of nakedness, etc. On the need to import clothing, see Hammond 19; Ewen and Ewen 358; Reasons Humbly Offered 1-2. For tales of nakedness, etc., see Chapter 3, n. 56. This will also be seen in the discussion below on the even greater necessity required to force Virginians to manufacture their own clothes and the threat of manufactures to English interests. Sometimes, but not often, Virginians recognized degrees of poverty. For example, in 1623 the Council thanked the King for revoking

the Company contract which "'would have reduced us to the original state of starvation,'" but further requested that the King should keep open the market for plantation tobacco otherwise "we shal perish for want of English commodities which 'our nature and breeding re-quire.'" Qtd. in Dorfman 1: 21.

67. See n. 15 above.

68. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 55, 58; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60-1693 (Richmond, 1914) 158-9; Hening 2: 18. See also Rainbolt 47-8, 86.

69. H. Jones, Present State 137; Lawson 112; Bruce 1: 459.

70. Hening 1: 208, 397; Hartwell et al. 9-10; Beverley 285.

71. Morris 48-9.

72. See, e.g., Morris 30, 48-9; Brown and Brown 8-9; Morgan, American Slavery 140-1.

73. For examples of petitioning the Crown in response to necessity, see McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 43, 124; Hening 2: 17, 200-1. For petitions of merchants, see McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 105. Of course, often petitioning went hand-in-hand with efforts at local legislation, and less often rebellion.

74. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 43; Hening 2: 225; "Virginia in 1666-1667," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 21 (1913): 225.

75. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 123; "Virginia in 1652-53," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 17 (1909): 357-8.

76. Despite the present consensus on this point among historians, one can find few explicit statements in the seventeenth century. One exception is cited by Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1958) 1: 231. See also Carson, "Berkeley" 207, 218-9; Rainbolt 26-7; Morgan, American Slavery 186. In contrast, numerous statements suggest that necessity promoted the development of import substitutes. See below.

77. Carson, "Berkeley" 206; Rainbolt 57.

78. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 26-7. See also Kingsbury 4: 452; McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 45-6, 49, 55, 58, 60, 121, 123; Hening 1: 204, 209-10, 224-5; Berkeley 7-8. See also Dorfman 1: 19-22; Leonard 59, 61-3; Rainbolt 44-6. See also Chapter 3.



Rainbolt suggests that in the 1660s, whereas the Virginia leaders linked tobacco restriction to long-range diversification, the Maryland government "viewed the cessation largely as a temporary expedient to increase the price of tobacco" to alleviate immediate poverty. See Rainbolt 64.

79. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 126; McIlwaine, 1659/60-1693 137; Hening 2: 190-1, 221-2, 224-6; Beverley 70; Rainbolt 113; Morgan, American Slavery 186, 192. For behavioral evidence in support of this view, see Fitzhugh 82. For evidence that the Crown recognized both capital and time arguments, see Rainbolt 48-9.

80. This would explain the lack of responsiveness of Berkeley to the Crown offer of free customs on a ship full of tobacco if preceded by a ship full of other commodities. See Leonard 55n27.

81. McIlwaine, 1659/60-1693 137. They likewise argued that the promotion of manufactures in response to the uncertain and low price of tobacco would preserve Crown revenues by preventing the abandonment of tobacco production and implicitly the colony itself. See Hening 2: 120-1, 238-9, 306-7, 493; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, or the Origin and Development of the Social Classes of the Old Dominion (1910; New York: Russell, 1958) 191-2; Rainbolt 131-2. While historians have seen efforts to promote cohabitation, manufactures, and alternative staples as part of a deliberate effort to move away from a reliance on tobacco production, Virginians realized they could never justify acts of assembly on this basis alone because Crown revenues were too closely tied to tobacco imports. But such projects could always be wielded as a stick to obtain carrots from the Crown. On provincial mercantilism, see Leonard 44-74; Rainbolt 100-1, 111-5, 131-2, 144, 149-50. Historians have traditionally dated the official shift in Crown policy to August 1685 when the Lords of Trade dropped the customary clause in instructions to new royal governors requiring or encouraging promotion of new staples. See Bertelson 49; Rainbolt 127-8, 146-7; Davis, Intellectual 1: 19. There is much evidence, however, of a lukewarm Crown interest in diversification "limited to kind words" and "permissive encouragement" throughout the seventeenth century, especially when it came to any loss of revenue or increase in expenditure on the part of the Crown. This becomes increasingly clear in the 1660s as the Crown followed closely Lord Baltimore's logic on opposition to limitation, while still maintaining nominal encouragement of alternative staples. See, e.g., "Virginia in 1673-76," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 20 (1912): 240-1; Glover 12. See also Bruce 1: 392-3; Leonard 54-5, 55-6n29, 60-2, 70; Morgan, American Slavery 188-9, 194. Indeed an end to encouragement



quickly descended in the 1690s and thereafter into a Crown fear of and efforts to suppress diversification. See Rainbolt 148-52, 162.

82. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 45-6, 60, 123; McIlwaine, 1659/60-1693 137, 145-6; Hening 3: 34-5.

83. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 59.

84. Morgan, American Slavery 273.

85. Hening 3: 34-5; Spotswood 1: 52; Reasons Humbly Offered 2. See also Dorfman 1: 123; Rainbolt 143. Earlier legislation for the promotion of manufactures (see n. 53 above) drew on underemployed female and child labor and did not suggest any reduction in tobacco production. For similar contemporaneous comments in early New England on how the falling off of immigration necessitated manufacturing, see E. Johnson, American 130, 140.

86. Spotswood 1: 72-4, 164-5; 2: 27-8, 35, 51, 269-70. Spotswood noted because of the low price of tobacco, "the people must of necessity, lessen the quantity [of tobacco] and employ their hands to other uses where they lose by their Labour in this [tobacco], but whenever Tobacco comes again to be valuable, they will naturally fall into that Trade, which seems to be rooted in their Affections." Spotswood later clarified somewhat what he meant by "necessity" and "valuable": "it is well known here y't ye considerable Crop Masters who are able to Cloath their familys by w't substance they happen to have beforehand in G't Britain, will not drudge on w'th all their hands at Tobacco when it does not yield a living price, but employ them in other services and wait till ye Market rises again." By "a living price," Spotswood seems to have assumed some target price for tobacco below which planters would switch to manufactures and above which planters would switch to tobacco production. Overall, while this target price concept seems to make sense of Spotswood's more ambiguous statements, his assumption of perfect substitutability between tobacco and manufactures hardly fit the general view of Virginians.

87. Beverley 68-9, 74-6, 92. See also Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (1929; Boston: Little, 1946) 28; Carson, "Berkeley" 229-30; Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1960) 1: 195, 301; Leonard 71-4; Warren M. Billings, "'Virginias Deplored Condition,' 1660-1676: The Coming of Bacon's Rebellion," diss., Northern Illinois U, 1968, 143-80; Warren M. Billings, "The Causes of Bacon's Rebellion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 78 (1970): 417-23; Rainbolt 92-8; Morgan, American Slavery 240-2, 246-70,

279, 285-7, 295; Jane Carson, Bacon's Rebellion 1676-1976 (Jamestown, VA: Jamestown Foundation, 1976); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1982) 78-87. Joseph Dorfman mentions a fear of revolt during the Company years. See Dorfman 1: 19-20.

88. "Aspinwall Papers" 184; Carson, "Berkeley" 255; Leonard 71-4; Rainbolt 96-7; Stephen Saunders Webb, 1676: The End of American Independence (New York: Knopf, 1984) 1-165; Kukla, Political Institutions 173. Shades of the Stamp Act crisis, Spotswood observed in 1718 that "the people were made to believe that the Parl't could not Levy any Tax, (or so they call ye Rates of Postage), here without the Consent of the General Assembly." See Spotswood 2: 280. For other Revolutionary precedents, cf. Spotswood 2: 262, 306-7. For a general discussion of early American attitudes toward taxation, see E. Johnson, American 241-61, esp. 243; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 70-4, 78. For a theoreical treatment of these ideas of justice and rebellion, see James C. Scott, The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia (New Haven: Yale UP, 1976) 157-92.

89. For the early years, see Nicholas Canny, "The Permissive Frontier: Social Control in English Settlements in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650," The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650, eds. K. R. Andrews et al. (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1979) 29. For later years, see Breen, "1638 Plan" 460; Beverley 78; Spotswood 1: 85; 2: 300; Rainbolt 69; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 81-4. For an analysis of similar British attitudes, see H. T. Dickinson, Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain (London: Weidenfeld, 1977). In Virginia these fears also probably lay behind the movement in this period to exclude Newgateers and to enlist a standing guard for Berkeley. See Leonard 72n89. On the role of disaffected gentry, see Spotswood 2: 283; Morgan, American Slavery 249. On deference, see Hammond 8-9; Canny, "Permissive" 37. Of course, an important question remains to what degree the common sort granted these gentry such deference. Although there is scant empirical proof for the prevalence of particular ideal and operative values among the non-literate, nevertheless all evidence presented in Chapter 3 and this chapter suggests that such deference was indeed widespread, perhaps best reflected in the central role of the gentry on both sides in Bacon's Rebellion. See J. R. Pole, Paths to the American Past (New York: Oxford UP, 1979) 227; Rainbolt 4-6, 10, 18-9, 31, 96-7; Morgan, American Slavery 145, 209-10, 247-9, 261-2; Wyatt-Brown 80-1; Kukla, Political Institutions 28.

90. Leonard 74. See also Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 80.

91. Spotswood 2: 299. See also Deuel Pead, "A Sermon Preached at James City in Virginia the 23d of April 1686," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 17 (1960): 393; Spotswood 2: 23, 32, 137; Leonard 64; Morgan, American Slavery 279; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 84. On Lord Baltimore's concern that a stint in 1663 would lead to rebellion, see Hitchens 167-8; Morgan, American Slavery 194. This has a strong ideal normative basis as reflected in the acceptance by the Commissioners of unjust necessity to exonerate the actions of most of Bacon's rebels.

92. Leonard 60, 67-8.

93. Spotswood 1: 72-3; Reasons Humbly Offered 2; Wertenbaker, Patrician 205-6; Margaret G. Reid, Economics of Household Production (New York: Wiley, 1934) 37; Morton 1: 396; 2: 423. Crown support for law to prevent manufactures also suggests planters were actually undertaking or planning to undertake such activities. See Beverley 104.

94. Ewan and Ewan 358. Cf. the New England argument of The Planters Plea where "the husbanding of unmanured grounds, and shifting into empty Lands, enforceth men to frugalitie, and quickneth invention" with "neither leisure, nor occasion, to decline to idlenesse" associated with those living amongst "the abundance and superfluities of long settled States." See Planters Plea 3.

95. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 59-60. Cf. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 62.

96. Hening 1: 353-4. See also Hening 2: 232, 259-60; Helen Clark Rountree, "Indian Land Loss in Virginia: A Prototype of U. S. Federal Indian Policy," diss., U of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1973. See also the section on land acquisition in Chapter 6. Besides necessity, other interpretations of this extensification process either highlighted avarice (see above) or a natural preference, since "the spirit and hearts of men are kept in better temper by spreading wide." See, e.g., Planters Plea 3.

97. Leonard 61.

98. Hartwell et al. 9.

99. Rainbolt 162.

100. Berkeley 7.

101. Nicholas Canny, "Dominant Minorities: English Settlers in Ireland and Virginia, 1550-1650," Minorities in History, ed. A. C. Hepburn (New York: St. Martin's, 1979) 53. See



also John Oldmixon, qtd. in Carl Bridenbaugh, Jamestown 1544-1699 (New York: Oxford UP, 1980) 121; John Fiske, Old Virginia and her Neighbours, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, 1902) 205-10; Jay B. Hubbell, "Cavalier and Indentured Servant in Virginia Fiction," South Atlantic Quarterly 26 (1927): 22, 28-34; Marcus Wilson Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America 1607-1783 (1931; New York: Ungar, 1960) 48; Marambaud 258; Canny, "Permissive" 17-44; Shammass 275; David Souden, "'Rogues, Whores, and Vagabonds': Indentured Servant Emigration to North America and the Case of Mid-seventeenth-century Bristol," Migration and Society in Early Modern England, eds. Peter Clark and David Souden (Totowa, NJ: Barnes, 1988) 150-1.

102. Canny, "Permissive" 27.

103. Bertelson 31; Canny, "Dominant" 53. See also Hamor 19.

104. For contemporaneous views, see True Declaration 15; Hamor 50; Durand 111-3, 128, 132, 163-4. See also E. Johnson, American 66; Dorfman 1: 20-1; Bertelson 21-7, 36-7, 67; Crowley 2-3, 50-95; Morgan, American Slavery 73; Canny, "Permissive" 27-30; Davis, Intellectual 1: 21. Bertelson and Alan Heimert both argue that indolence was the catchall term for failure to pursue the common good. Neither cites the other for this particular insight although each greatly acknowledges the general influence of the other. See Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1966) x, 53; Bertelson ix-x, 68-80. Nevertheless, contrary to the Bertelson-Heimert view, there were as many different labels for failure to pursue the common good as there were sins and vices. Cf., e.g., Breen, "1638 Plan" 462. All that Bertelson and Heimert prove is that indolence was simply the sin or vice most often condemned in seventeenth-century Virginia.

105. G. Nash, "Image" 219-20; Morgan, American Slavery 44-70; Canny, "Permissive Frontier" 32-3; Davis, Intellectual 1: 119. Beverley, reflecting his more relativistic view of the Indians, accepted different standards for Englishmen and Indians; for Indians, he identified indolence not with their everyday Lubberland existence but only with a very few "who have no Pleasure in Exercise, and won't be at the Pains to fish and hunt." Cf. Beverley 17, 30, 156, 185, 233, 319.

106. H. Jones, Present State 55-6.

107. Beverley 30, 156, 233, 319.

108. Roy Harvey Pearce, Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind (Berkeley: U of California P, 1988) 5; G. Nash, "Image" 197-230; James Axtell,



"Through a Glass Darkly, Colonial Attitudes Toward the Native Americans, American Indian Culture and Research Journal 1 (1974): 17; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (New York: Knopf, 1978) 25-31; R. Nash, Wilderness 29-30n21. On racism and ethnocentrism in early modern European thought in general, see George H. Hildebrand, "The Idea of Progress: An Historical Analysis," The Idea of Progress: A Collection of Readings, ed. George H. Hildebrand (Berkeley: U of California P, 1949) 14-7; Margaret T. Hodgen, Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1964) 208-9, 213-4, 222-7, 354-86, 418-26; Harold Pagliaro, ed., Racism in the Eighteenth Century, Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture, Vol. 3. (Cleveland: P of Case Western Reserve U, 1973) ix-xviii, 239-386; Léon Poliakov, The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe (London: Sussex UP, 1974) 131-82; George W. Stocking, Jr., Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology, 2nd ed. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1982) 38-9; Sharpe 19-20. In her efforts to show that English attitudes toward the Indians derived from their views about the lower classes, Karen Kupperman further strengthens inclusion of writers like Beverley as indolence rhetoricians. See Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Settling With The Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580-1640 (Totowa, NJ: Rowman, 1980).

109. Louis B. Wright, Culture on the Moving Frontier (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1955) 11-45; Canny, "Dominant" 52-3; R. Nash, Wilderness 24, 29-30; Carroll 2-4, 10-3. The colonists themselves, consistent with the rhetoric of poverty and its emphasis on positive transformation, tended to downplay or deny the possibility of regression. See Canny, "Dominant Minorities" 51-69.

110. Canny, "Dominant" 53; Canny "Permissive" 30-3.

111. True Declaration 19-20. See Darrett B. Rutman, "The Virginia Company and Its Military Regime," The Old Dominion: Essays for Thomas Perkins Abernethy, ed. Darrett B. Rutman (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1964) 1-20. Edmund Morgan notes that for Puritans "the Jeremiad was a rhetorical substitute for adversity." See Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 24 (1967): 6.

112. Kingsbury 3: 521.

113. Rutman, "Virginia Company" 9-10. See also Kukla, Political Institutions 14.

114. Davis, Intellectual 1: 25.

115. Canny, "Permissive" 41-2.

116. Rutman, "Virginia Company" 10-1; Kukla, Political Institutions 11A, 14-5.

117. Berkeley 3; Durand 110; Beverley 287; H. Jones, Present State 71, 80, 101; Byrd, Prose 159-60. See also John Spencer Bassett, ed. The Writings of 'Colonial William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr.' (New York: Doubleday, 1901) xii-xiii; Hubbell 22-5; E. Johnson, American 67-8; Bertelson 68.

118. Breen, "1638 Plan" 461-3; Bullock 14, 52; Berkeley 3; 25V369(81); Durand 109-10; H. Jones, Present State 130. Beverley, however, did downplay the number of convicts shipped to Virginia. See Beverley 288. See also Phillips, Life 29; Morgan, American Slavery 326-7. These ideas were later carried over into the "po' white trash" myth. See John Esten Cooke, Virginia: A History of the People (1883; Boston: Houghton, 1903) 226-9; Fiske 2: 14-35, 216-20, 364-75; H. L. Mencken, Prejudices Second Series (New York: Knopf, 1920) 145-50; Hubbell 26-8, 39; Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, The Rise of American Civilization, 2 vols. (1927; New York: Macmillan, 1930) 2: 260; Phillips, Life 25; Shields McIlwaine, The Southern Poor-White: From Lubberland to Tobacco Road (Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1939) xviii, 5; William Edward Garnett and Allen David Edwards, Virginia's Marginal Population--A Study in Rural Poverty (Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Agricultural Experimental Station, 1941) 20-126; W. J. Cash, The Mind of the South (New York: Vintage, 1941) ix, 4, 6-7; Wesley Frank Craven, The Legend of the Founding Fathers (New York: New York UP, 1956) 129; James C. Bonner, "Plantation and Farm: The Agricultural South," Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green, eds. Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1965) 158; Edgar T. Thompson, Plantation Societies, Race Relations, and the South: The Regimentation of Populations (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1975) 276-8.

119. In contrast, Hammond noted indolence but never extended the idea as a general model except to early years. For later years he adopted the more traditional distinction based on individual character distributed between indolent and industrious with "as well bad natures as good". See Hammond 8, 13-4, 19.

120. John Clayton, The Reverend John Clayton: A Parson with a Scientific Mind: His Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers, eds. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1965) xxvii, 78-90; Bever-

ley 134-5, 292-8, 314-9; Hartwell et al. 9; Spotswood 2: 96. Byrd, in his celebrated History of the Dividing Line, ridiculed North Carolinians in particular, but his comments differed little from his criticisms of southern Virginians. More mildly he chastized the indolence of his fellow planters in general. See Byrd, Correspondence 1: 381. See also Bertelson 67, 74-6; Marambaud 229-31; Davis, Intellectual 1: 68-74, 90-1, 95; 2: 940-4.

121. See, e.g., Lawson 75, 83; Darrett B. Rutman, Husbandmen of Plymouth: Farms and Villages in the Old Colony, 1620-1692 (Boston: Beacon, 1967) 60, 93n62; Aubrey C. Land, ed. Bases of the Plantation Society (Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1969) 95-6, 199; Robert E. Brown and B. Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy? (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State UP, 1964) 43-4. See also Chapter 4. If Englishmen celebrated the industry of the ant and the bee, Virginians found their exemplar in "the Oeconomy" of the beaver. See Ewen and Ewen 42-3; Beverley 311-2. Unfortunately for these native theorists there was no equivalent of a drone in the beaver economy. For colonial American examples of social insect analogies, see John Smith, The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580-1631), ed. Philip L. Barbour, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986) 1: 311; Bullock 52; E. Johnson, American 66, 71, 109; Bertelson 118-9; Rutman, Husbandmen 6; Crowley 82. See also Chapter 2, n. 31.

122. E. Johnson, American 38, 64-5, 111, 118, 263; Bertelson 67-9, 80. Bertelson while well noting these ideas unfortunately offers a very weak explanation for their appearance as simply "reasonable." Indeed a few environmentalist arguments did appear in the Virginia literature. George Donne in his 1638 plan for Virginia reflected a strong Machiavellian influence when he said "a country in its own nature fruitful without Art and Industry, waste into A Barrennesse. This alone vice of Idlenes drawes on into a Common Wealth Beggary Theft Excesse, faction Discontent [and] at last open rebellion," in contrast to the prosperity of China where not a beggar or idle person was allowed. See Breen, "1638 Plan" 462. John Hammond in the 1640s similarly described the early problems of Virginia after the massacre of 1622, when Virginians "again began to bud forth, to spread further, to gather wealth, which they rather profusely spent (as gotten with ease then providently husbanded, or aimed at any publique good; or to make a Country for posterity; but from hand to mouth, and for a present being," neglecting "discoveries" and long-term investments for the short-term profits of tobacco production, well earning their reputation in England as "an indigent and sottish people" until forced by laws "suppressing vices and compelling industry." See Hammond 8-9. Thus Donne and Hammond believed like Machiave-



111 that good laws could (and indeed did) correct the effects of abundance. See Bertelson 8-10, 21-7, 36-7, 39-41, 51, 67; Canny, "Dominant" 53; Canny, "Permissive" 41-2. Hammond explicitly denied that Virginia was a Lubberland but his statements suggest that she fit that descriptions before good laws were instituted.

123. Spotswood 2: 153, 287, 291; Lynn 3-5, 18-9; Rainbolt 144; Shammass 284-8.

124. Beverley 70-1, 319; E. Johnson, American 133-4; Warren M. Billings, "Toward the Rewriting of Seventeenth-Century Virginia History: A Review Article," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (1975): 188.

125. A late seventeenth-century visitor to Virginia, Durand de Dauphiné, drew upon the Dutch model in contrasting the industry of Frenchmen with the indolence of Virginians, noting that in Virginia abundance led to ubiquitous laziness and extravagance while in France heavy taxes made them industrious and thrifty out of necessity. See Durand 45, 111-3, 117.

126. Clayton 4. It is likely that Clayton had met John Houghton, the English popularizer of the notion of "necessity" as "the mother of invention," at meetings of the Royal Society. See Clayton xliv.

127. Beverley 296-7. Cf. Beverley 319. See also Brown and Brown 10-1.

128. Byrd, Prose 205. Cf. Byrd, Prose 312. See also Bertelson 68, 73-4.

129. H. Jones, Present State 84. For other environmentalist analyses, see Lawson 83, 86-7. John Banister noted "too much land" as the reason for the lack of diversification, but did not go into any more detail. See Ewen and Ewen 40.

130. See Bertelson 67-9, 70-80; Rainbolt 24-6. Rainbolt implies a nominally similar transition from "prescription" to "persuasion," but his lumping of the theoretically distinct different poverty and indolence approaches confuses the real changes. See Rainbolt 4, 96-8, 161. Thus Hugh Jones was atypical when he defended forced transportation from England on the basis that "there can be no injury in such moderate legal compulsion as forces people to be honest and industrious, though it be contrary to their inclinations or their false notions, which ought to be subjected to the publick good and opinion of the community; and restrained and directed by the civil power to pursue such methods as the legislature shall judge most convenient for the united



interest of all the society or empire" and which "would tend as well to their private as the publick good." See H. Jones, Present State 133.

131. Beverley 313. Compare the use by John Smith of a notice board to reward industry and shame idleness. See Bertelson 23-4. Similarly, the Governor and Council in agreeing in 1631 to abide by his Majesty's Commission declared "if there shall be found any unwilling or turbulent spirit amongst us or any other enemy to peace we desire he may be cast out of all good society and accompted as a firebrand to kind those flames of dissentions which must in the first place ruinate himself and his estate." See "Virginia in 1631," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 8 (1900): 45.

132. Beverley 319.

133. On Hamor, see Bertelson 36-7.

134. Leonard 50.

135. Hitchens 167; Carson, "Berkeley" 207; Leonard 61. This statement actually seems close to the way that Puritans used necessity to discourage sin.

136. Leonard 71-4, esp. 74. Berkeley also seems to suggest this when he proposed that increased taxes paid by Virginians be devoted to the colony's needs. See Leonard 51.

137. This belief undoubtedly underlay the self-image of the British political economists discussed in Chapters 4, as it does all aspiring professionals. See J. E. Crowley, This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974) 41; Thomas L. Haskell, ed., The Authority of Experts: Studies in History and Theory (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984).

138. For other interpretations of the rhetoric of gentility, see Chapter 1. See also A. G. Roeber, Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1680-1810 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1981) 26-8.

139. Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book named the Governor, ed. S. E. Lehmberg (London: Dent, 1962); Ruth Kelso, The Doctrine of the English Gentleman in the Sixteenth Century (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1929); W. Lee Ustick, "Changing Ideals of Aristocratic Character and Conduct in Seventeenth-Century England," Modern Philology 30 (1932): 147-66; Richard B. Schlatter, The Social Ideas of Religious Leaders 1660-1688 (London: Oxford UP, 1940) 106-23; Fritz Caspari, Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England (Chicago: U of Chicago

P, 1954); George C. Brauer, Jr., The Education of a Gentleman: Theories of Gentlemanly Education in England, 1660-1775 (New York: Bookman, 1959); John M. Major, Sir Thomas Elyot and Renaissance Humanism (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1964); Arthur B. Ferguson, The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance (Durham: Duke UP, 1965); Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 26, 34, 59; Frank Whigham, Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory (Berkeley: U of California P, 1984) x, 102-16; Arthur B. Ferguson, The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1986); Linda Levy Peck, Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England (Boston: Unwin, 1990) 15-6. For evidence of a fairly direct influence of Elyot on at least one Virginia planter, see Kenneth A. Lockridge, The Diary, and Life, of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674-1744 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1987) 22-5.

140. Hamor 25.

141. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 24.

142. For early years, see Smith, Complete Works 2: 240; Canny, "Permissive" 29, 37-9. For later years, see "Aspinwall Papers" 107-9; Bridenbaugh 94-6; Morgan, American Slavery 254-5; Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 79-80.

143. See, e.g., Kingsbury 4: 146; McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 23, 28, 43, 45-6, 49-50, 55, 58-9, 61, 74-8, 121-2; "Aspinwall Papers" 109; Hening 1: 232, 330, 354-5; 2: 17; McIlwaine, 1659/60-1693 317; Hartwell et al. 4-5; Beverley 105-8, 313; Spotswood 2: 36-7, 85, 124, 134-5; 2: 50, 99, 124, 128, 131-2, 134-5. See also P. Miller, Errand 103; Farish lxxiii-lxv; Breen, "1638 Plan" 451-2, 459-60; Rainbolt 116-20; Morgan, American Slavery 360; Davis, Intellectual 3: 1572. For similar English views, see Stephen D. White, Sir Edward Coke and 'The Grievances of the Commonwealth,' 1621-1628 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 37-9; David Harris Sack, "Parliament, Liberty, and the Commonwealth," Parliament and Liberty from the Reign of Elizabeth to the English Civil War, ed. J. H. Hexter (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1992) 98-9, 104, 107. See also the criticism of covetousness in Chapters 3 and 4. Jon Kukla highlights factions in the late 1630s as evidence of increasing political complexity, but similar factions existed from the landing in Jamestown to the end of the seventeenth century as those out of power criticized the abuse of power of those in power serving private ends. Cf. Jon Kukla, Political Institutions 34-6, 80-1; Rainbolt 153-4; Bliss 32. Nevertheless, even governors like Nicholson and Spotswood, for all their vitriolic battles with Council members, never lost their sense of unity with their gentry opponents pitted against the vulgar

masses. See, e.g., Spotswood 2: 153, 222, 225, 279, 282-3, 285, 287, 311-5, 320, 341.

144. R. Johnson, "Virginia in 1632" 460; Spotswood 2: 191-2.

145. "Virginia in 1673-1676," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 20 (1912): 236-7; Beverley 135; "Charges against Spotswood," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1897): 350.

146. "Virginia in 1666-1667" 43.

147. Elyot 131-2; Whigham 98-102, 104, 115; Peck 18-9.

148. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 43(25); "Virginia in 1629 and 1630" 379; "Virginia in 1631" 39; Harvey to Windebanke, qtd. in Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660 (1860; Vaduz: Kraus, 1964) 263; Fitzhugh 101.

149. Spotswood 1: 75; 2: 162. On the other hand, a greater than competent reward could have the adverse effect of encouraging avarice. See Spotswood 2: 270.

150. McIlwaine, 1619-1658/59 60.

151. Hening 2: 235; Spotswood 1: 56; 2: 162.

152. Elyot 14. See Wyatt-Brown, Southern Honor 70-1.

153. Elyot 4-5; Kelso 35-7; Dorfman 1: 5, 56. In part this reflected the humanist emphasis on the virtue of giving and the emphasis on the bounty of the Crown combined with the desire of the Crown to establish a centralized state of subservient courtiers and civil servants. See Pearl Hogrefe, The Life and Times of Sir Thomas Elyot Englishman (Ames: Iowa State UP, 1967) 271-2, 283-5; Wallace MacCaffrey, "Patronage and Politics under the Tudors," The Mental World of the Jacobean Court, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991) 21-35; Peck 1-4, 12-29.

154. Caspari 101-6; Whigham 112-4.

155. Sir William Temple, The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart., 4 vols. (London, 1814) 1: 56. Temple, however, acknowledged that "the degrees of what is called sufficient or necessary are very many, and differ according to the humour and conceptions of several men." See further Chapter 3.

156. Spotswood 2: 134-5. Cf. Morgan, American Slavery 209-10.



157. "Instructions of Francis Nicholson," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1896): 49-50. See also "Virginia in 1669-70," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 19 (1911): 362-3; Grace L. Chickering, "Founders of an Oligarchy: The Virginia Council, 1692-1722," Power and Status: Officeholding in Colonial America, ed. Bruce C. Daniels (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1986) 256; Kukla, Political Institutions 15, 18.

158. See, e.g., Kemp to Windebanke, qtd. in Calendar 1574-1660 263; Spotswood 2: 192, 220.

159. "Virginia in 1631" 39; "Instructions to Berkeley, 1642," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 2 (1895): 283-4; "Instructions to Berkeley, 1662" 15; Spotswood 2: 83-4, 223-4, 301; Leonard 55n27, 73n97. On Council privileges, see Hening 1: 228, 279, 307, 445, 498, 523; Leonard 47, 54, 67; Bridenbaugh 82. See also Chapter 3.

160. Whigham 222n34. See also Caspari 105-6, 249-50n174; Hogrefe 243, 270-1; Whigham 98-112; Geoffrey Koziol, Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1992) xii-xiv, 8-11, 25-58, 214-39.

161. May McKisack, The Parliamentary Representation of the English Boroughs during the Middle Ages (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1932) 82; Vincent Gabrielsen, Remuneration of State Officials in Fourth Century B.C. Athens (Odense: Odense UP, 1981) 13 et passim; M. I. Finley, Politics in the Ancient World (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983) 34-8; M. M. Markle, "Jury Pay and Assembly Pay at Athens," History of Political Thought 6 (1985): 265-97. For contemporaneous English practice, see G. E. Aylmer, The King's Servants: The Civil Service of Charles I 1625-1642, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 1974).

162. Kukla, Political Institutions 35.

163. Kingsbury 3: 580-1; 4: 76-7; "Virginia in 1677," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 23 (1915): 154-5.

164. R. Johnson, "Virginia in 1632" 460; "Virginia in 1632-33-34" 150.

165. Leonard 47n8.

166. Cf. Spotswood's petitions on behalf of poor Virginians. See Spotswood 2: 33, 35, 164-5; Leonard 59, 66. However, there is no strict equation between the rhetorics of gentility and poverty on this point since, as David Harris Sack notes, in Parliament politicians often spoke in the first



person when speaking not for themselves but for the general interest. See Sack 98.

167. "Attacks by the Dutch on the Virginia Fleet in Hampton Roads in 1667," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 4 (1897): 236.

168. For example, Governor Wyatt in 1626 claimed "the necessity of his privat estate, compelleth him, not to put off any longer his retourne for England." See "Virginia in 1625-26" 368.

169. Kingsburh 4: 110-1.

170. "Virginia in 1666-1667" 41.

171. Lynn 20.

172. Lynn 20.

173. Hitchens 164; Morgan, American Slavery 194; Bridenbaugh 85; Bliss 29, 32.

174. Whigham 98-102; Paul A. Rahe, Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1992) 25, 236, 242, 245, 445-7.

175. Pennington 178.

176. Hammond 6, 27.

## CHAPTER 6 NECESSITY AND PLANTER BEHAVIOR

Mere analysis of ideas can resolve neither the mind-behavior problem nor the challenge that the new social history brought to traditional approaches to early American history. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard well capture the opinion of many social and economic historians when they acknowledge the importance of values but stress that "we will gain greater insight into those values if we pay more attention to what farm families did than to what observers say farmers thought or felt."<sup>1</sup> Social historians are not alone in holding that no matter what people profess to believe, individuals neither understand the nature of their own behavior nor the greater forces that shape that behavior, and that to understand their values one should watch not their mouths, but their feet.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the whole justification for the social sciences rests on the belief the man is but an imperfect observer of his own mind and behavior, thus justifying the need for social scientists who can rise above common sense and more objectively describe and explain society.<sup>3</sup>

But clearly this materialist view begs the question: what is the nature of the relationship between ideas and

behavior? And equally clearly if we are to begin bridging the traditional dichotomy between normative ideals and actual behavior, the place to begin is by examining how well contemporaneous operative values explain actual behavior. For the seventeenth-century Chesapeake this means examining how well the reigning necessity consensus explains planter behavior.

We can test the necessity consensus with which seventeenth-century Virginians explained their own behavior against evidence of planter behavior from three of the most important aspects of the Chesapeake economy: tobacco productivity, demand for labor, and new land acquisition. In order to perform this test in a rigorous manner, we will necessarily have to move far beyond the qualitative approaches employed thus far in the analysis of ideas into the realm of multiple regression analysis of quantitative behavioral evidence. This will involve extrapolating from the idea of necessity hypotheses that can only be roughly tested with available data. As a result of the work of numerous scholars of colonial Maryland and Virginia, the seventeenth-century Chesapeake is hardly the "statistical 'dark age'" it was called as recently as 1978, but historians wishing to undertake statistical analysis are still constrained by the lack of such evidence as data necessary to analyze individual-level responses.<sup>4</sup> We do, however, have enough aggregate-level data for time-series analysis. Furthermore, the analy-

sis shows that there is good reason to give greater respect to contemporary thought, because evidence indicates that actual behavior was highly consistent with the necessity consensus that dominated the operative beliefs of early modern Englishmen both in England and Virginia.

### Modeling and Testing Necessity

Following the early British political economists, we can define necessity as relative poverty in terms of falling real earned income, and "non-necessity" or prosperity with rising real earned income. Virginians throughout the seventeenth century regularly identified necessity with exorbitant prices of commodity imports, higher taxes, soil depletion, natural calamities, lack of shipping, and falling tobacco prices.<sup>5</sup> Economic historians highlighting the domestic economy have rightly pointed out that subsistence production (at market prices) made up a greater share of total household income than income from marketed staples in colonial southern as well as northern households.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, in the view of both contemporaries and economic historians who highlight the export economy, uncertainties in the farm price of tobacco far outweighed other elements in the perception of necessity for the seventeenth century as a whole.<sup>7</sup> Tobacco prices were the barometer of poverty and prosperity. The comment by Charles Carroll III to an English friend in the late eighteenth century could well be applied



to the entire colonial era: "Our estates differ much from yours, the income is never certain. It depends upon the casual rise or fall of the price of tobacco."<sup>8</sup>

Although it is clear that necessity to some degree is a function of tobacco prices, it is not clear what the exact nature of that function is. At the simplest, we might model necessity simply by "the current market value of tobacco."<sup>9</sup> However, since there is no a priori reason to believe that planters responded so quickly and uniformly to changes in tobacco prices, we should also test various ways of modeling the link between current market value and necessity. Indeed, modern economists, whether studying modern agricultural supply or modern consumer behavior, recognize that farmers and consumers in general make decisions based not solely on present prices but on past prices and future expectations. Thus they emphasize the need to experiment with different models of prices, usually in the form of some combination of present income/prices and a weighted or unweighted average of income/prices for a certain number of preceding years--with the goal of improving the fit of predicted to actual data.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, if we adopt the safety-first hypothesis--that planters were risk-averse as well as drudgery-averse--planters may have based their production decisions on minimum prices in the recent past, accommodating themselves to planting and tending enough plants to assure themselves against the risk of the market.<sup>11</sup> In addition, we

should include a variable to determine whether a fall in tobacco prices had a significantly different impact compared to no change or a rise in the prices.

The only plausible series of tobacco prices we have for developing such models of necessity in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake is Russell Menard's series based on Maryland probate records. Although Menard's farm price series is hardly ideal for a study of Virginia--and more data on regional price differences, in particular prices on sweetscented tobacco, would certainly be welcome--it is the best measure of the current market value of tobacco that we have and are likely to develop in the near future.<sup>12</sup> (For my refutation of arguments against using Menard's tobacco price series for studies of the Chesapeake as a whole, see Appendix II.)

Frankly, in the realm of behavior, our analysis has to move beyond Virginia to include the entire Chesapeake. We would not be able to get far in our statistical analysis if we relied solely on the extant evidence from seventeenth-century Virginia. For example, our only proxy for tobacco production--colonial tobacco imports into England--does not separate out Maryland and Virginia. And thanks to the work of Menard and others in Maryland records we have quite workable annual data on servant prices and tithable population for substantial parts of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>13</sup> There seems little reason to be-

lieve that the responses of Maryland planters to necessity differed significantly from those of Virginia planters.

Finally, while none of the data employed here are perfect, we should at this point simply let statistical analysis show us whether they are good enough to confirm or reject the hypotheses presented.<sup>14</sup> The empirical analysis presented below suggests the assumption of the validity of the price series and other Maryland data to a study of the entire Chesapeake is a good one.

#### Tobacco Productivity, 1669-1703

One cannot exaggerate the importance of tobacco in seventeenth-century Virginia. As virtually the sole export, tobacco paid for all imports (including servants and slaves) upon which Virginians were heavily dependent throughout the century. So prevalent were transactions in tobacco, that tobacco quickly became the de facto as well as de jure currency in the colony.

The only unambiguous proof of the validity of the necessity theory in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake would be the finding that planters in aggregate both responded to falling tobacco prices by expanding tobacco production and, perhaps more importantly, responded to rising tobacco prices by curtailing tobacco production. Thus, if the necessity consensus is correct, we should find that planters responded in the short run to rising tobacco prices by decreasing

tobacco productivity per worker and to falling tobacco prices by increasing tobacco productivity per worker. And, indeed, we will show that planters did exactly that.

Historians have regularly noted that tobacco productivity per worker (whether based on contemporary literary estimates, analysis of probate records, or aggregate production and population data) rose during the seventeenth century when tobacco prices were falling, followed by falling productivity as prices rose in the eighteenth century. Although how much a man could or did make varied widely from place to place, year to year, man to man, behind this variance seems to lie a distinct inverse relationship between the trends in productivity and total production and the trends in tobacco prices across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> (See Figures I and II.)

To what degree were these changes a result of necessity? Historians have recognized that tobacco productivity in any particular year was a function of numerous factors including climate, crop strategy (quality versus quantity), variety of tobacco, soil quality, length of time the land had been in use, general improvements in technique, labor management, and "the strength, stamina, and industriousness of individual workers."<sup>16</sup> To test the hypothesis on tobacco productivity as a function of necessity, we clearly want to isolate the relationship between the contribution to changing tobacco productivity resulting from increased



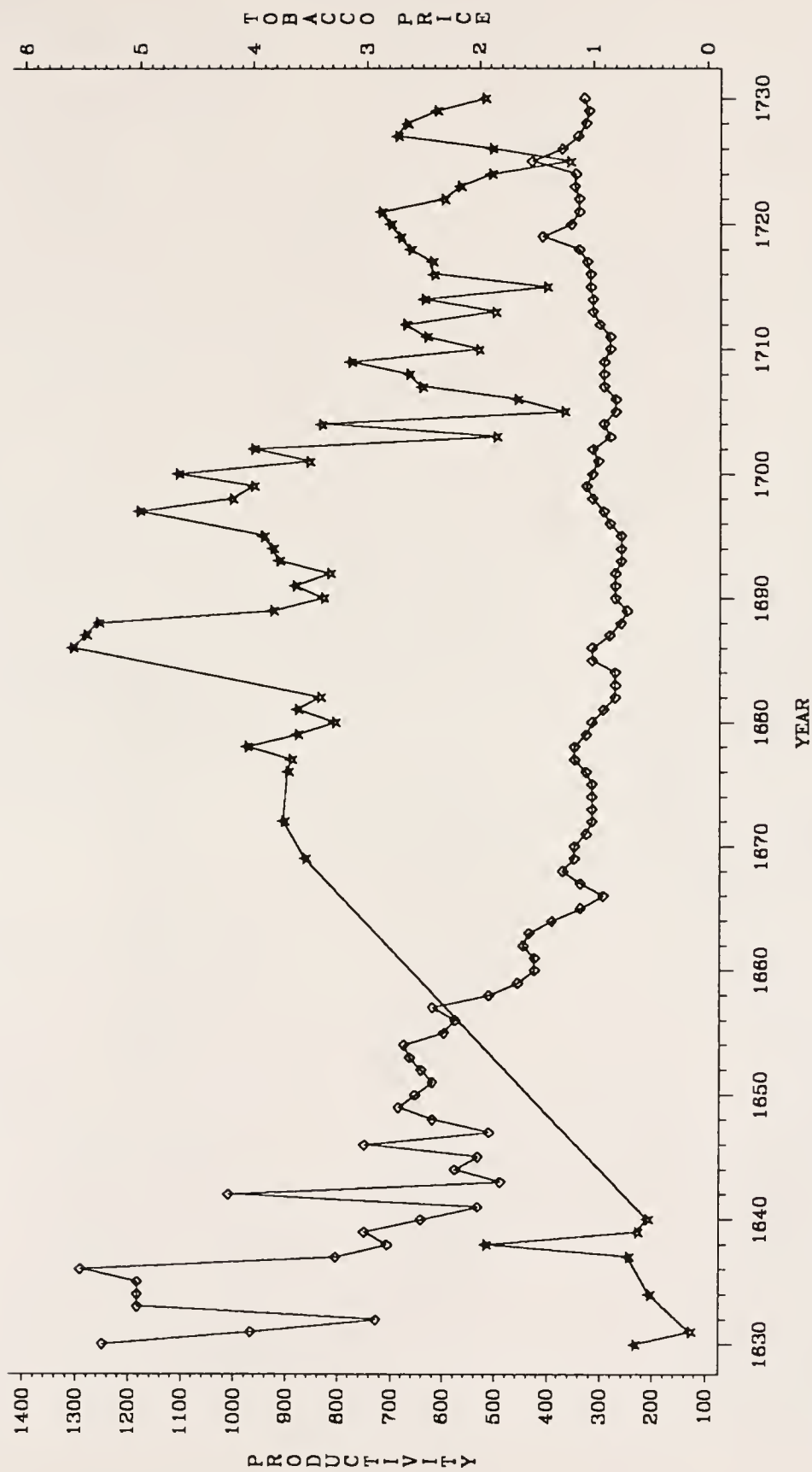


FIGURE I  
TOBACCO PRODUCTIVITY, 1630-1730,  
AS A FUNCTION OF TOBACCO PRICES

TOBACCO IMPORTS (LBS) PER TITTHABLE ★ ★ ★  
TOBACCO PRICES (PENCE STG/LB TOBO) ◇ ◇ ◇

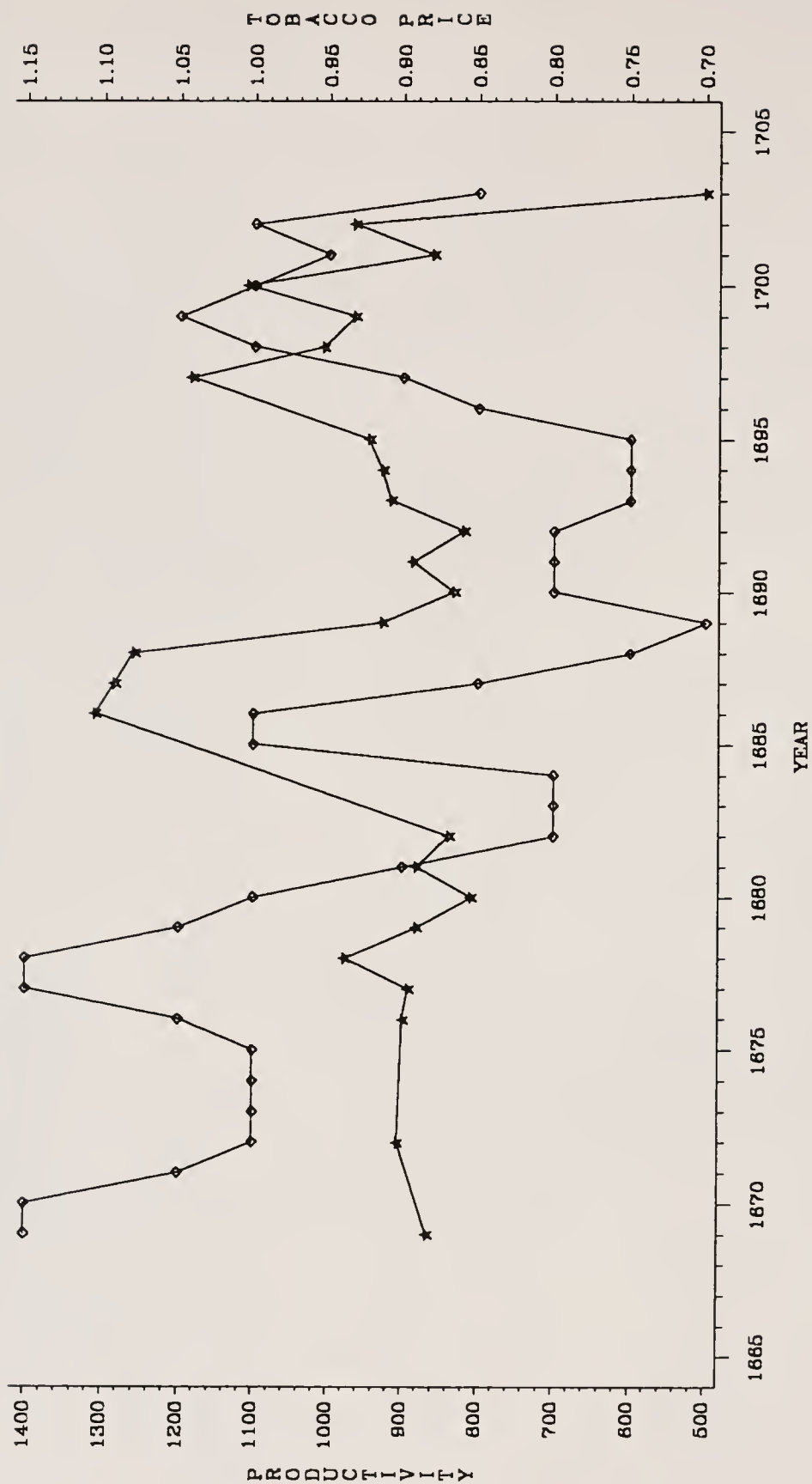


FIGURE II  
 TOBACCO PRODUCTIVITY, 1669-1703,  
 AS A FUNCTION OF TOBACCO PRICES

invention and industry arising out of necessity. Thus we need a proxy for both the short-run supply of mental and physical effort devoted to tobacco production and necessity itself (primarily as a function of current and previous tobacco prices), as well as proxies for all the other factors which could affect tobacco productivity.<sup>17</sup>

Over the course of the planting year there was much room for modifying total output, from the seeding of the beds in January, making of the hills in April, transplanting in May, topping, hoeing, and suckering in June and July, cutting in August, and casking in October.<sup>18</sup> Planters could have increased productivity by increasing the number of plants tended and/or increasing the output per plant (number of leaves and/or weight per leaf). Historians have often suggested that any increased output per plant would have come at the expense of overall tobacco quality based on the presumption of a utilitarian equilibrium between quantity and quality. But this was not necessarily so if increased effort led to an improvement in both quantity and quality.<sup>19</sup> Indeed historians have concluded that if anything the output per plant decreased as general quality improved over the course of the seventeenth century, with the increase in tobacco productivity primarily a result of an increased number of plants per laborer which advanced six- to ten-fold.<sup>20</sup>

The only measure of total tobacco production we have for the colonial era with which we could possibly test a necessity hypothesis are the annual totals of tobacco imports into London and/or England (and, after 1707, Great Britain).<sup>21</sup> Imports provide a proxy not for the current year's, but the prior year's production which was delivered to England the following spring and summer. The series measures all tobacco delivered in years alternately beginning September 28 and December 24, but since the bulk of the tobacco crop was delivered to England between January and September the annual series captures only the prior year's production.<sup>22</sup> However, the increasing potential for carry-over of previous years' crops by the second half of the seventeenth century could potentially distort estimates of annual production.<sup>23</sup>

The import data are highly imperfect for our purposes. Import totals exclude "tobacco shipped directly to foreign ports, lost in transit, smuggled into England, consumed domestically, and traded to other regions of British America," and include "tobacco grown in other colonies other than Virginia and Maryland."<sup>24</sup> The series is furthermore incomplete and entirely lacking in estimates for the years 1641-1668.<sup>25</sup> The total also does not include tobacco left to rot in Virginia as a result of a shortage of shipping or excessive freight rates, laments frequently made by contemporaries especially in times of war or threat of war. As William



Byrd I, writing in October 1690 to William Blathwayt observed: "Here is a considerable quantity of tobacco left in the country for want of ships to carry itt out, which must much prejudice Their Majesty's revenue att home, as well as lessen itt here, which suffers allso by the great quantity's of tobacco now prest into hogsheads, by reason freight is now att such excessive rates."<sup>26</sup> The years before the Navigation Acts are highly suspect due to the prevalence of shipping direct to the Continent, while the years before 1696 are, according to Jacob M. Price, "not as satisfactory" as those after.<sup>27</sup> Recently, Robert C. Nash, drawing upon a close correlation between the impost on tobacco and customs totals, has significantly modified estimates for the years 1686-88.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, historians have found a striking similarity in estimates of changing labor productivity determined using either aggregate or individual data from probate records, particularly during the late seventeenth century when the Navigation acts were more strictly enforced. They suggest that the import data provide "a reasonable approximation of the size of the crop."<sup>29</sup> However, in order to adjust for the impact of the availability of shipping on production estimates, we can include both a check variable on the prevalence of war in any particular year and an index of sailor's wages as measures of both the dangers of ship-

ping and general competition among shippers, all of which might have decreased available shipping to the Chesapeake.

Next we need to convert tobacco production into tobacco productivity per worker. Increases in tobacco production may arise from an increase in effort of the current tobacco labor force and shifts of laborers from other occupations and non-laborers into tobacco production. However, the only measure of the labor force we have--the total number of tithables--allows no such sophistication. The tithables--the basis for the head tax in Virginia and Maryland--represent in effect the legally defined potential tobacco labor force (black adults and white males of working age) by excluding those individuals whose age, sex, and race traditionally precluded their working in the tobacco fields. Thus the number of tithables includes those who might have but did not labor in tobacco (such as those employed in non-agricultural occupations) but does not include those who might sometimes have worked in the tobacco field (such as white women and young children).<sup>30</sup> If, under conditions of necessity, tradesmen and housewives began working in the tobacco fields rather than their traditional occupations, we would not be able to distinguish this response from a simple increase in effort of the current tobacco labor force. According to the necessity consensus, we might expect an increase in both types of response to necessity, but it is possible that if the responses move in opposite directions

and the shift in occupations proves significant, the impact of necessity on tobacco productivity of the current tobacco labor force could be obscured.<sup>31</sup>

Although numerous lists of tithables exist for various counties for a few scattered years in the seventeenth century, creating an annual series for the entire Chesapeake is not straightforward. Overall we believe that Russell R. Menard has reconstructed a plausible annual series.<sup>32</sup> Thus we will define tobacco productivity in terms of the ratio of tobacco imports into England (lagged by one year to reflect the delay between production and importation) to the number of tithables in the Chesapeake in any one year.

Among the many potential independent variables affecting tobacco productivity, we will concentrate on a proxy for the quality of land and the rate of geographical expansion in terms of land acquisition, a proxy for the quality of labor and the rate of tithable population expansion, and a proxy to capture changes in technology and organization independent of these other changes.

For quality of land, we have fairly good data on new land acquisition in Virginia in the late seventeenth century (which, given the lack of any comparable data for Maryland will have to serve as a proxy for land acquisition for the entire Chesapeake) but it is not at all clear whether such new land increased or decreased productivity.<sup>33</sup> Some contemporaries, like the Burgesses in 1638, and some historians

have suggested that new land promoted greater productivity and, indeed, constantly acquiring new, more fertile land was the only way that planters could offset lower tobacco prices. Edmund Plowden noted in 1648 that new land produced a pound per plant while worn land produced five to six plants per pound.<sup>34</sup>

However, some historians have noted that by the late seventeenth century the only available land was more isolated from the main shipping traffic, further from navigable waters (thus tending to promote greater self-sufficiency and reduced tobacco production) and less fertile, and thus new land acquisition would have led to a decline in productivity.<sup>35</sup> We can model the impact of soil fertility with a measure of recently acquired land (which should have a positive coefficient if new land was more fertile) and isolation with a measure of total cumulative land acquisition (which should have a negative coefficient if market access decreased with the geographical size of the colony). Since it is not certain how long it took for new land to be placed in production after patenting, we will have to experiment with various time lags.<sup>36</sup>

For measures of labor quality, the best proxy we have is the number of unindentured servants registered in any particular year, for which we have totals for several counties in Maryland and Virginia. Assuming that such servants, usually much younger and less skilled than indentured ser-



vants, were inferior in their productivity to both indentured servants and individual planters, we might suppose that an increase in the unindentured numbers independent of any change in the total number of tithables would lead to a decrease in productivity. Other historians suggest that freedmen were significantly more productive than servants in general, whether due to greater freedom which spurred effort or a tendency when unsupervised to sacrifice quality to quantity.<sup>37</sup> Assuming that each county total captures most of the unindentured servants brought into that particular county, that taken in aggregate these annual totals reflect similar trends across the Chesapeake, that losses due to seasoning remained fairly constant over the time period considered, and that these servants served for approximately five years, we have a fairly good estimate of the changing size of the unindentured portion of the labor force.<sup>38</sup>

What effect would an increasing tithable population have had on productivity? Although there is little hard evidence, one might suppose that increases promoted a division of labor, but it is unclear what effect diversification would have had on tobacco productivity if specialized tobacco workers picked up the slack of artisans and craftsmen.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, increases in the size of the work force could actually have allowed greater specialization in tobacco as a greater proportion of the labor force was freed from subsistence production. It is also possible that increased compe-

tition might have spurred greater increases in productivity above and beyond necessity.

On technological or organizational changes in the seventeenth century unrelated to necessity, there is little hard evidence.<sup>40</sup> Historians have regularly suggested that most of whatever productivity gains due to technique occurred in the first half of the seventeenth century as a result of adjusting to the environment or "learning by doing" during the earliest years of settlement, with agricultural practices fairly fixed from the mid-seventeenth century through the eighteenth century, the same for big and small planter alike (although the eighteenth-century saw significant economies of scale in combining grain and tobacco production for export).<sup>41</sup> Lacking any better information, we can generally assume that any such change would be in a positive direction and might best be captured by a secular time trend.

For the impact of climate and other "acts of God", we have little to go on apart from occasional comments in the historical record which suggest great variance from year to year in tobacco production due to natural forces.<sup>42</sup> The impact of climate is further supported by general knowledge of the nature of agriculture in any time and place, but especially applicable to tobacco culture. As Menard notes:

Tobacco is a plant of extraordinary delicacy, and output and quality often fell sharply when the weather failed to cooperate. During especially bad seasons, production fell by as much as two-thirds or more, and

years in which 20-30 percent of the crop was destroyed proved common.<sup>43</sup>

We might also include here the impact of such "manmade disasters" as Bacon's Rebellion and the tobacco cutting riots which were reported to have led to the loss or destruction of much of the tobacco crop.<sup>44</sup> Lacking any objective standard of the proportional effect of such natural or manmade forces, all we can do is model the effect for any particular year by a check variable in the years when the impact was said to occur to determine whether tobacco productivity in that year was significantly above or below expectations based on the pattern established in more normal years. However, to avoid overloading the model with independent variables which create problems when we are working with as few observations as we have, we will restrict any analysis of the impact of climate to an observation of residuals of unexplained variance to see if certain years suggest significantly higher or lower productivity than predicted.

The best-fit equation for tobacco productivity for the years 1669-1703 is presented in Table I. Figure III graphically reveals the closeness of the match between predicted and actual measures of tobacco productivity. The regression analysis reveals that, for the period 1669-1703 inclusive, *ceteris paribus*, a fall in the five-year average price of tobacco (PA5) of a tenth of a penny (say from 1.0 to 0.9 pence sterling) led to an increase in tobacco production per

Table I  
Tobacco Productivity, 1669-1703,  
Multiple Regression Analysis

Independent Variable	Coefficient	T-Statistic
Intercept	70902*	5.4
PA5	-3865.5*	-8.5
PMIN4	-734.4*	-3.7
LAND	3.421*	4.3
UNIND	527.5*	3.8
SUM	-964.0*	-3.6
POP	70.48*	4.3
CHECK	43.90	2.0
SHPWG	30.39*	10.4
WAR	264.2*	4.8
YEAR	-37.62*	-5.4
R <sup>2</sup>	0.957	
D.W.	2.56	
N	26	

\* denotes statistical significance at the 5% level of significance

Note: See Appendix I.

Dependent Variable:

TOBPRD      English/British tobacco imports per Chesapeake  
                 tithable (pounds of tobacco per tithable)

Independent Variables:

PA5            unweighted average tobacco price for the current  
                 production year and the previous five years (pence  
                 sterling)

PMIN4        minimum tobacco price for the current production  
                 year and the previous four years (pence sterling)

CHECK        1, if the price of tobacco in the current produc-  
                 tion year is less than the price in the  
                 previous production year  
                 0, if otherwise

LAND         Virginia patents for new land in current produc-  
                 tion year (000 acres)



Table I--continued

SUM	cumulative Virginia patent acreage for new land as of current production year (000,000 acres)
UNIND	Chesapeake unindentured servants registered in current production year (000 servants)
POP	total Chesapeake tithable population as of current production year (000 tithables)
SHPWG	sailor's wages in current marketing year (shillings per month)
WAR	1, for current marketing years when war in Europe significantly impacted Atlantic trade 0, if otherwise
YEAR	secular time trend

## Source:

Data for TOBPRD, PA5, PMIN4, CHECK, and POP from Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation," Research in Economic History 5 (1980): 157-61. Data on TOBPRD for the years 1686-8 adjusted based on Robert C. Nash, "The English and Scottish Tobacco Trades in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Legal and Illegal Trade," Economic History Review 35 (1982): 356. Data for UNIND aggregated for several counties representing about a fifth of total tithable population. For Charles, Northumberland, Talbot, Somerset, and Prince George counties, see Russell R. Menard, Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland (New York: Garland, 1985) 115. For York and Lancaster counties, see Russell R. Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," Southern Studies 16 (1977): 365. Middlesex county data was provided by the Rutmans. Data for LAND and SUM from Bruce Chandler Baird, Jr., "New Land Acquisition in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1660-1706: A Test of the Malthusian and Staples Hypotheses," M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990, 41. Data for SHPWG and WAR from Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London: Macmillan, 1962) 133-58.

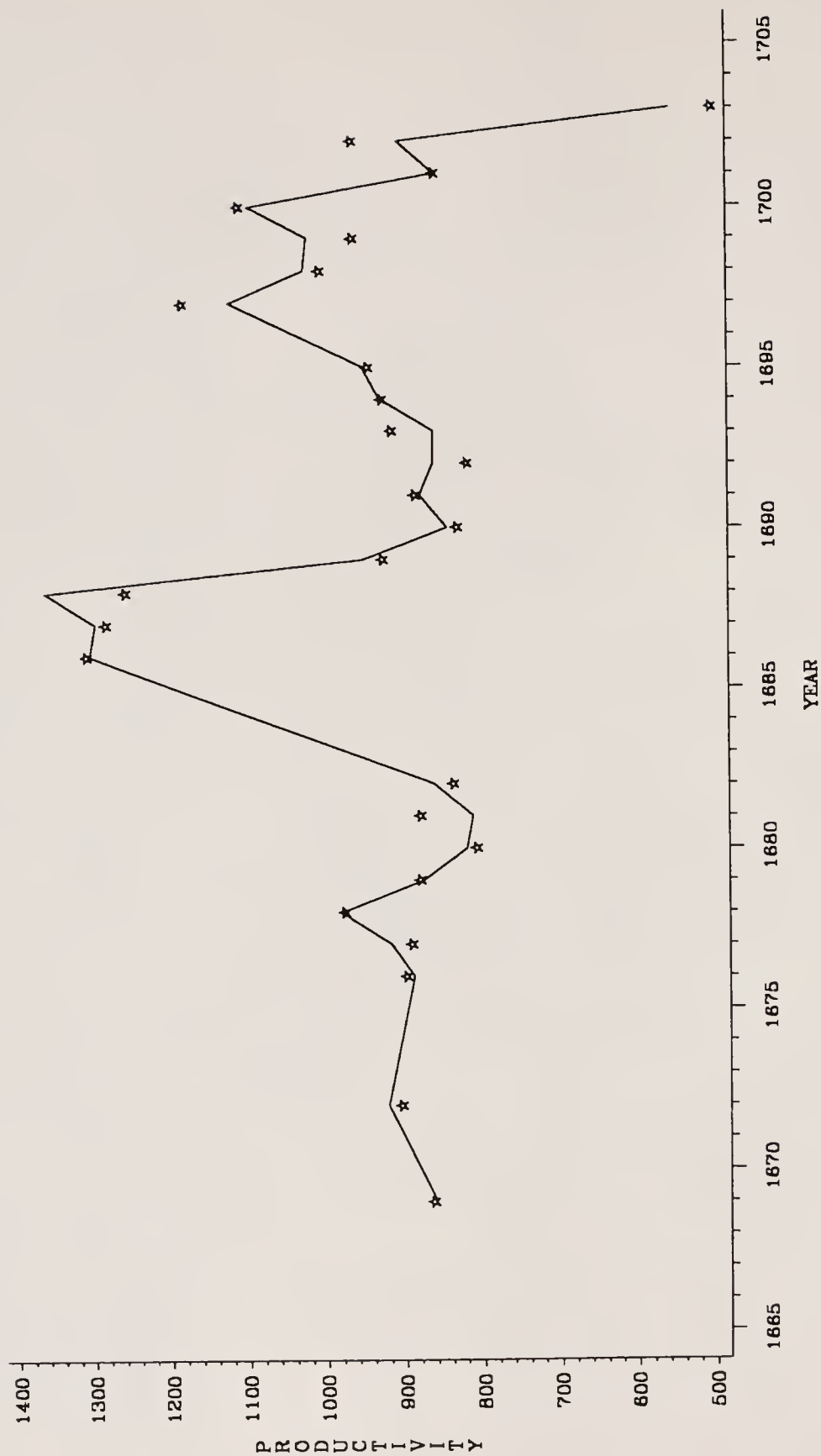


FIGURE III  
 PREDICTED VERSUS ACTUAL PRODUCTIVITY, 1869-1903  
 ACTUAL TOBACCO IMPORTS (LBS) PER TITHABLE ★ ★ ★

tithable of 387 pounds while a fall in the four-year minimum price (PMIN4) of the same amount led to an increase of 73 pounds. Thus, due to the fall in tobacco prices, if all other things were held constant, planters, servants, and slaves in 1687 when prices were relatively low would have produced 1330 pounds per tithable more than they did in 1669 when prices were relatively high.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, with rising prices during the Peace of Ryswick, Virginians and Marylanders in 1701 would have produced 198 pounds less tobacco per tithable than they had in 1687.<sup>46</sup> In addition, those years in which tobacco prices fell from the previous year, regardless of the amount or rate of fall (as measured by CHECK), averaged 44 pounds of tobacco per tithable greater than years in which there was a rise or no change in tobacco prices. Table II shows the robustness of the model for the years 1669-1703 to various other proxies of average tobacco prices (PAVG) employing alternate lags and weights of previous tobacco prices.

Increased land acquisition (LAND), at least in the short run, led to an increase in tobacco productivity of 3.4 pounds per tithable for every thousand acres acquired. With total tithables circa 1690 of about 30000 and assuming that new land employed a minimum of one tithable for every twenty acres, this suggests an increase in productivity of 2040 pounds for each worker in new soil. It is likely that our proxy for land quality captures other unintended factors in

Table II  
Tobacco Productivity Sensitivity Analysis, 1669-1703

M	P	P	L	U	S	P	O	C	S	W	Y	R <sup>2</sup>	D
O	A	M	A	N	H	H		H	H	A	E		W
D	V	I	N	I	E	P		E	P	R	A		
E	G	N	D	N	C	W		C	W		R		
L	4	4		D	K	G		K	G				
PRC	263 (0.4)	-1831* (3.8)	2.20 (1.1)	118 (0.3)	1070 (1.9)	-41.0 (1.3)		79 (1.0)	-28.0* (3.2)	322* (2.3)	-29.1 (1.5)	.752	1.95
PRC1	-4 (0.0)	-1830* (3.5)	2.00 (1.1)	202 (0.6)	898* (2.3)	-33.0 (1.2)		53 (0.9)	-30.2* (4.1)	343* (2.6)	-28.7 (1.5)	.750	2.00
DL1	182 (0.5)	-1752* (3.4)	2.32 (1.1)	152 (0.5)	1080 (2.1)	-41.6 (1.3)		98 (0.9)	-27.8* (3.3)	318* (2.3)	-29.1 (1.6)	.753	1.88
PA2	-221 (0.3)	-1738* (2.9)	1.98 (1.0)	274 (0.7)	839 (2.0)	-29.6 (1.0)		59 (1.0)	-31.1* (4.0)	352* (2.6)	-28.9 (1.5)	.751	2.00
PA3	-2221 (2.1)	-784 (1.2)	1.92 (1.1)	831 (2.0)	180 (0.4)	3.8 (0.1)		149* (2.3)	-35.8* (5.3)	424* (3.5)	-28.8 (1.7)	.806	2.31
PA4	-3856* (5.5)	-269 (0.7)	2.59* (2.4)	844* (3.9)	-730 (2.0)	49.8* (2.4)		153* (4.4)	-34.3* (8.3)	377* (5.0)	-29.2* (2.7)	.918	2.92
PA6	-3603* (5.4)	-1164* (3.7)	2.92* (2.6)	303 (1.6)	-1082* (2.5)	70.3* (2.9)		-20 (0.6)	-29.0* (7.0)	227* (2.8)	-37.8* (3.4)	.914	2.05
PA $\infty$	-10391* (3.0)	-591 (1.0)	2.40 (1.4)	897* (2.6)	-754 (0.5)	107.9 (2.1)		56 (1.1)	-42.9* (6.0)	449* (4.1)	-146.3* (3.2)	.852	1.91

Source: See Table I.



Table II--continued

Note: These models repeat the regression presented in Table I but substitute for PA5 other proxies of average tobacco prices (PAVG). PRC and PRC-1 employ the price of tobacco prevailing during the current production year and previous year's price respectively. Such assumptions are at the heart of the cobweb model. See Hossein Askari and John Thomas Cummings, Agricultural Supply Response: A Survey of the Econometric Evidence (New York: Praeger, 1976) 25-6. DL1 equals current production year prices extrapolated by the change in price from the previous year (increased with rising prices, decreased with falling prices). See G. S. Maddala, Introduction to Econometrics (New York: Macmillan, 1988) 338-9. These were also tested with various weights but the models were all inferior to PRC. See Askari and Cummings 26. PA2, PA3, PA4, and PA6 represent the average of prices for the current production year and respectively the previous year, previous two years, previous three years, previous four years, and previous six years. PA $\infty$  represents the "standard" distributed lag employed by economists for time-series analysis, but, to avoid the problem of autocorrelation, the analysis employs the techniques described by G. S. Maddala which involves empirically determining the proper weight attached to previous prices (with  $\delta=0.89$  providing the best fit). See Maddala 342-4. Cf. the standard approach of Marc Nerlove, The Dynamics of Supply: Estimation of Farmers' Response to Price (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1958). These models of average prices are not significantly improved by weighting previous prices which suggests previous prices bear equal weight with current prices in planter decisions although the impact of previous prices peaks at five years back.

tobacco production decisions which parallel demand for land because of the weakening effect of including acreage estimates further back than the current year. More expected, the regression (as a result of the negative coefficient on SUM) tends to confirm the belief that by the late seventeenth century, newly patented land was of lower quality or more remote.

Our proxy for labor quality based on unindentured servant registration (UNIND) also seems to capture unintended effects which parallel tobacco production decisions. Based on total tithables circa 1690 of 30000 and assuming that the sample counties for servant registration captured about a fifth of the total registration (based on the number of tithables in the sample counties compared to total tithables in Maryland and Virginia), the regression suggests that each unindentured servant registered produced 3165 pounds more than the average tithable, clearly an unrealistic expectation. However, the strong positive coefficient does suggest both that unindentured servants were not inferior to other laborers and that freedmen were not more likely to emphasize quantity over quality when compared to servants. Furthermore, (as suggested by the strong positive coefficient on POP) an independent increase in productivity was derivable from the general increase in the number of tithables. If productivity fell with the increasing geographical expansion of the colony, the same can not be said

of the increasing demographic expansion. This finding tends to downplay any negative impact of diversification on tobacco productivity and tends to suggest that, if anything, increasing population led to greater specialization and/or competition.

There was a statistically significant time trend (as captured by YEAR) of falling tobacco productivity of 38 pounds per year which could better capture secular declines in land and labor quality, but could also reflect a gradual shift over time to higher quality over quantity production, increasing diversification or self-sufficiency of the labor force over time, deflation in commodity prices, or other secular changes in the staple or domestic economy independent of changing tobacco prices. However, the time trend does challenge the view of historians that the rise in productivity in the late seventeenth century resulted from a shift to a quantity over quality strategy or that there were no secular declines in productivity due to soil exhaustion. To the degree that the negative time trend was due to secular deflation, this would tend to support the necessity synthesis.<sup>47</sup>

The analysis shows that estimates of tobacco production were significantly restricted by the availability of shipping but due more to competition for and risk of shipping (SHPWG) than wars per se (WAR). Indeed the presence of wars by itself promoted even greater shipment of tobacco from the

Chesapeake and the total impact of war was thus ambiguous.<sup>48</sup> During the Dutch war 1672-4 the two opposing tendencies cancelled each other out. However, the lack of shipping during the years 1689-96 reduced imports per tithable by 511 pounds from the years immediately preceding (1679-88) and following (1697-1701).

There was no clear pattern between contemporary observations of short or abundant crops and those predicted by the model, which interestingly suggests that climate and man-made disasters were not as much an independent factor as expected in the variance in aggregate productivity although they most certainly impacted the yields of individual planters.

These findings overall firmly support the necessity consensus, providing the only unambiguous proof on changing tobacco productivity that could be offered to validate the necessity theory in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. Planters responded to falling average tobacco prices (PA5) and minimum tobacco prices (PMIN4) by increasing tobacco productivity, and, perhaps more importantly, they reversed their behavior in response to rising prices by decreasing productivity--a negative elasticity firmly in line with a backward-sloping supply of effort.



Demand for Labor, 1662-1679

While intensification of the production process should not be ignored in explaining the tremendous increase in tobacco production across the seventeenth century, historians have well noted that overall growth in the Chesapeake was basically driven by putting an increased number of hands to work on more land.<sup>49</sup> The analysis of tobacco productivity suggests that significant improvements could be obtained through acquisition of servants. Although planters might have been constrained in short-run intensification decisions, perhaps in the intermediate- or long-run they responded differently in their extensification decisions.

As with short-run strategies for intensification, the only unambiguous proof of the validity of the necessity theory on intermediate- and long-run strategies for extensification would be the finding that planters in aggregate both responded to falling tobacco prices by expanding tobacco production and responded to rising tobacco prices by curtailing tobacco production. But instead of focusing on tobacco productivity, here we will focus on demand for labor, the factor of production in shortest supply throughout the seventeenth century. If the necessity consensus applies as well to the intermediate- and long-run, we should find that planters responded to rising tobacco prices by decreasing their demand for labor and to falling tobacco

prices by increasing their demand for labor. And, indeed, again we will show that planters did exactly that.

In order to analyze the demand for labor we need to have fairly good data on the quantity and quality of labor supply and the price paid for labor. Before the 1690s Virginia planters met their labor needs primarily through the market for white (primarily English) servants, but thereafter they increasingly turned to the market for African slaves.<sup>50</sup> The lack of good data on the actual supply of slaves until well into the eighteenth century, vitiates a rigorous analysis of the demand for slave or combined servant/slave labor, or the transition from servant to slave labor, in the seventeenth century. (However, we might note that historians have highlighted the central role of cost-price squeezes in this transition which is certainly a view consistent with the necessity consensus.<sup>51</sup>) In addition, we have good data on the actual supply of white servants only for the years 1662-1679 (discussed below) and thus our analysis of the demand for labor is restricted to these years. One positive note, however, is that since there was no strictly simultaneous trans-Atlantic labor market because of the time constraints on communication and transportation--or, as economists would say, the supply and demand equations were predetermined--we need not consider the many factors which affected labor supply in England in order to understand planter demand.<sup>52</sup>

On the price paid for labor, the best proxy we have is Menard's annual series on the value of a male servant with four or more years left to serve, which he finds most reliable for the years 1662-1709.<sup>53</sup> In employing the series we presume a fairly well-developed market for servants across the Chesapeake. Although this subject deserves far more attention, those who have studied the evidence agree with Richard B. Morris that "in the tobacco provinces the buying and selling of servants and the hiring of them out on wages was as common as the marketing of the sotweed."<sup>54</sup> However, if the physical transfer of servants from one master to another has been exaggerated, competition for freshly imported servants would undoubtedly have helped establish a current price for labor.

Menard's servant value series does have several potential problems. In the years prior to 1681, servant values were usually given in probate and other records in pounds of tobacco and to maintain consistency Menard converted all extraneous prices in currency into tobacco equivalents by dividing by the current tobacco price. Because the value of the servant in pounds of tobacco may be highly correlated with current tobacco prices, we will need to isolate the impact of current tobacco prices as an independent variable in order to isolate the significance of our price proxies of necessity.<sup>55</sup> (See Figure IV.) Also Menard groups his servant values in three- and four-year averages (perhaps

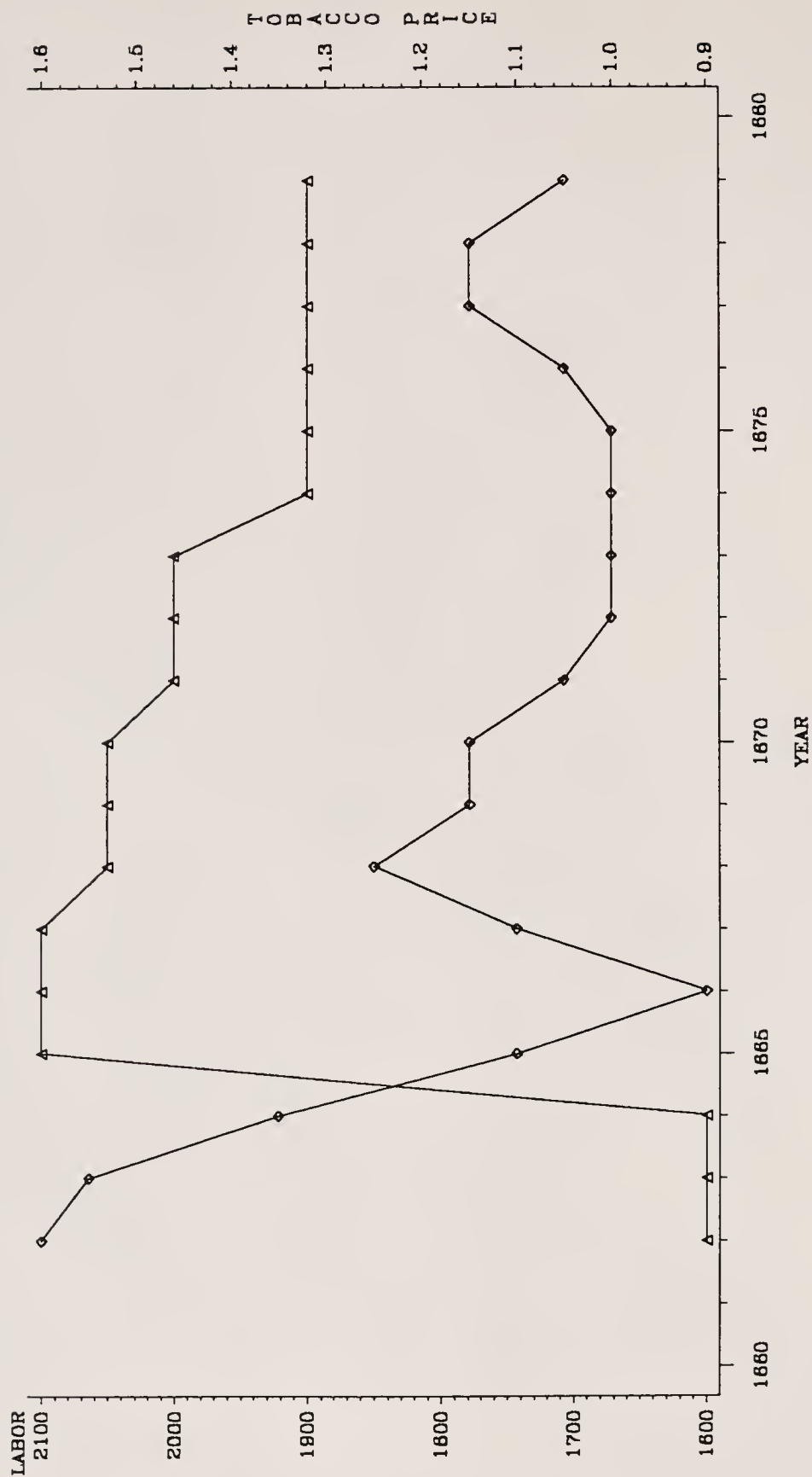


FIGURE IV  
PRICE OF SERVANTS, 1862-1879,  
AS A FUNCTION OF TOBACCO PRICES

SERVANT PRICES (LB TOBO) △△△  
TOBACCO PRICES (PENCE STG/LB TOBO) ◇◇◇



because there were not enough observations in any one year to justify annual values and this may tend to introduce a degree of negative autocorrelation. (See Appendix I.)

Although we still have much to learn about the nature of the market in bond servants in the Chesapeake, we do know quite a bit about the supply of "indentured" servants, those servants who signed a contract or "indenture" specifying terms of service before leaving England. Historians have reached a general consensus that these indentured servants were for the most part Englishmen quite representative of the lower-middle and upper-lower classes of English society seeking to better their condition.<sup>56</sup> The work of David Galenson shows furthermore that in England and the colonies the market in indentures functioned to a degree, however imperfect, like a modern labor market.<sup>57</sup>

Unfortunately, social and economic historians, in devoting so much attention to these indentured servants, have neglected those servants who came to the Chesapeake without indentures and served not by any written contract but by the "custom of the country," specified after the mid-seventeenth century by colonial statute. Although scholars of early America have yet to provide any good estimates of the exact proportion of unindentured to indentured servants, unindentured servants certainly were a highly significant part and perhaps even a majority of the bound labor force.<sup>58</sup> We do know that these unindentured servants were substan-

tially younger, more likely of non-English origin, less skilled, and in general of lower labor quality than indentured servants and included among their number throughout the seventeenth century many "spirited" or kidnapped children.<sup>59</sup> Some Chesapeake historians have noted evidence of a declining quality among the unindentured servants over the second half of the seventeenth century especially after 1680--more boys, women, Irishmen, and felons.<sup>60</sup> A greater supply of unindentured servants might have driven down the price of labor simply by both flooding the market and providing a lower quality good. However, changes in quality might have had minimal impact on the value of labor if, as Galenson notes, the seventeenth-century servant market, whether by indenture or custom, compensated for lower quality with increased years of service in order to equalize prices across servants.<sup>61</sup>

On the actual supply of servants, we have very poor data on total numbers of white bond servants for any particular year let alone enough to create an annual time series. We are better able to estimate the total numbers of unindentured servants because, beginning in 1660 in Virginia and 1662 in Maryland, masters began to bring their unindentured servants into court to have their ages adjudged. It is not quite clear how or why this practice started in Virginia because there were no statutes requiring registration until 1662. Certainly, if there were increasing controversies over

terms of service, masters had a definite incentive to have their servants' ages adjudged when they were as young-looking as possible because, by the custom of the country, younger servants served longer terms (a precedent codified in Maryland as early as 1639 and Virginia as early as 1643).<sup>62</sup> In 1658 the Virginia Assembly mandated that the county courts be the judges of servant ages, but surely the courts had always acted as such judges. On the other hand, although regular registration in Maryland did not start until 1662, the Maryland Assembly had passed a statute on registration as early as 1654, requiring that every master should bring all his servants into court to have their ages adjudged if unindentured or to have their indentures recorded. But neither requirement seems to have been fulfilled in Maryland until a penalty was imposed in 1661.<sup>63</sup>

Regardless of origins of registration, during the period 1662-79, the general practice appears to be that masters who brought or imported a servant into the county--and who expected the servant to serve more than the minimum number of years specified by the custom of the country for an adult servant--were required to bring the servant into the county court to have the servant's age adjudged. During this period the time limit for registration was either expressed in terms of months or court sessions, varying from three to four months or two to three court sessions. The penalty likewise varied: loss of one year's time, one thousand

pounds of tobacco, or reduction of service to the minimum established by custom for adult servants. Since by statute additional years of servitude could be acquired for any unindentured servants below the age of 22 in Maryland and even among indentured servants this age group comprised two-thirds to three-quarters of the flow, we may expect that registration captured a large percentage of the total unindentured flow. In Virginia, on the other hand, where additional years were only acquired for those below the age of 16 until 1666 and 19 thereafter, a far smaller proportion of the unindentured flow was likely registered.<sup>64</sup> We are able to determine the number of servants registered annually for several years for counties (Charles, Talbot, Sumter, and Prince George in Maryland and Lancaster, Northumberland, York, and Middlesex in Virginia) comprising about a fifth of the total Chesapeake tithables for the late seventeenth century.<sup>65</sup> Presuming these counties, when aggregated, to be representative of the entire Chesapeake and the proportion of the flow captured to remain fairly constant, we have a fairly good proxy for unindentured servant flow.

For the higher quality, indentured servant flow, we are in a far worse position for estimating total numbers. The only good time-series data available on indentured servants for the seventeenth century are the Bristol registers for the years 1654-86, with data from years after 1679 either missing or suspect.<sup>66</sup> Since Bristol emigration made up only



a part (perhaps 10-25%) of the total flow of indentured servants to the Chesapeake and was far outweighed in importance by Middlesex and London, and as some evidence suggests that outport merchants followed different market strategies than London merchants, we cannot fairly assume that Bristol indentured servant flows were representative of the overall indentured flows.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, since the Bristol registration system was not designed simply to record indentures but to enforce the registration of all emigrants leaving Bristol for servitude in the colonies, we might presume that the Bristol registers capture not just the higher quality indentured flow but combined high and low quality labor supply. However, although Bristol registration requirements may indeed have led to the curtailment of spiriting and perhaps the indenturing of servants who in the past may have been shipped out without indentures, the law did not totally eliminate the unindentured flow from Bristol and we may assume that the Bristol servant flow fell somewhere between the select nature of a mere register of indentures and the comprehensive nature of a register of all emigrants.<sup>68</sup> Regardless of what the Bristol registers represent, they are the only source capable of capturing relative changes in either the indentured or total servant flow in the seventeenth century and remain an integral part of any analysis of the demand for labor in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.

In addition to these measures of servant importation, we can also include changes in the tithable population as a measure of local labor supply although such changes would include the effect of young males coming of age as well as free immigration and emigration.

Other factors impacted planter demand for bond servants. For unindentured servants, demand was a function of the customs specified by statute, including years of service and the magnitude of freedom dues. For indentured servants, demand was affected by the particulars of the indenture including years of service and special privileges as well as customary privileges like freedom dues. With only ambiguous evidence on such changes apart from customary length of service, we will focus on changes on the impact of length of service on the value of labor and simply presume the other factors are constant over the period under consideration.<sup>69</sup>

Each additional year of service increased the value of a servant although the greatest impact of additional years occurred up to four years' service, since the benefits of longer terms were for the most part balanced by the lower quality of labor of younger servants. By including only servants with four or more years left to serve, Menard's servant value series tends to eliminate much, though not all, of the distortion due to changes in years of service.<sup>70</sup> Assuming no sampling bias (in other words, the average value reflects a servant with the average number of

years left to serve in any particular year), we still have to consider statutory changes in years of service which the planters themselves recognized increased the value of servants.<sup>71</sup> In the period 1660-6, both Maryland and Virginia significantly increased the customary years of service for younger unindentured servants. The exact impact of these statutory changes on the average length of servitude prescribed for an unindentured servant is difficult to determine since it depends on the age distribution among unindentured servants. For the period 1658-79, Lorena Walsh shows a fairly constant age distribution among male servants whose ages were identified in Charles County, Maryland.<sup>72</sup> Assuming a similar age distribution (10-14 35%, 15-19 45%, 20-24 20%) across Maryland and Virginia we can estimate the aggregate impact of statutory changes in customary years of service. In Maryland, the average term for an unindentured servant would have increased by one year from 6.55 to 7.55 years in 1666, while in Virginia the term would have increased from 6.54 to 7.86 years in 1662 and to 8.55 years in 1666. Further assuming three-quarters of the unindentured servants went to Virginia during these years (based on the proportion of tithables between Maryland and Virginia), we can approximate the impact of changing custom by a step function which increases from 0 to 1 in 1662 and to 1.75 in 1666.

Some historians have suggested that demand for labor might have risen in the second half of the seventeenth century as a result of fewer losses from mortality due to seasoning. However, there is little evidence to suggest when changes, if any, occurred and this easy generalization based on anecdotal evidence has been questioned by the Rutmans.<sup>73</sup>

The best-fit equation for servant prices for the years 1662-1679 is presented in Table III. Figure V graphically reveals the closeness of the match between predicted and actual measures of servant prices.

Current tobacco prices (PRICE) were negatively correlated with the value of servants suggesting that, for every tenth of a penny less that merchants offered for tobacco, *ceteris paribus*, planters paid about 37 pounds of tobacco more for a servant. This negative correlation reflects the tendency for the real value of imported commodities to maintain their value to some degree in the face of the inflationary/deflationary pressures of rising/falling tobacco prices, although the negative correlation may also capture to some degree the impact of necessity.

With any inflationary/deflationary effect held constant, the negative coefficients on the average and minimum price model found to best explain tobacco productivity firmly support the necessity model--showing that rising average and minimum tobacco prices led to lower servant



Table III  
Demand for Labor, 1662-1679,  
Multiple Regression Analysis

Independent Variable	Coefficient	T-Statistic
Intercept	434645*	6.8
PRICE	-372.2*	-2.9
PL4	-780.2*	-2.9
PMIN8	-983.0*	-4.8
UNIND	527.5*	3.8
POP	352.2*	6.9
DPOP1	148.8*	3.1
SUM3	489.0*	2.7
BRIS1	552.4*	10.8
UNIN2	-328.9*	-2.6
CHECK	-61.29*	-5.0
STEP	-579.2*	-10.7
YEAR	-261.8*	-6.7
R <sup>2</sup>	0.997	
D.W.	2.17	
N	18	

\* denotes statistical significance at the 5% level of significance

Note: See Appendix I.

Dependent Variable:

SERVTPRC    average annual price of indentured servant  
with four or more years left to serve  
(pounds of tobacco)

Independent Variables:

PRICE        current tobacco price (pence sterling)

PL4          unweighted average tobacco price for the previous  
four years (pence sterling)

PMIN8        minimum tobacco price for the current production  
year and the previous eight years (pence sterling)

POP          total Chesapeake tithable population as of  
current year (000 tithables)

DPOP1        Chesapeake population change since previous year  
(000 tithables)

Table III--continued

SUM3	cumulative Virginia patent acreage for new land as of three years previous (000,000 acres)
BRIS1	sum of annual indentured servants from Bristol to the Chesapeake in the current and previous year (000 servants)
UNIN2	sum of Chesapeake unindentured servants registered in current and previous two years (000 servants)
CHECK	1, if the price of tobacco in the current year is less than the price in the previous year 0, if otherwise
STEP	0, for years before 1662 1, for years 1662-1665 inclusive 1.75, for years after 1665
YEAR	time trend

## Source:

Data for SERVTPRC from Russell R. Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," Southern Studies 16 (1977): 372. Data for PRICE, PL4, PMIN8, POP1, DPOP1, and CHECK from Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation," Research in Economic History 5 (1980): 157-61. Data for SUM3 from Bruce Chandler Baird, Jr., "New Land Acquisition in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1660-1706: A Test of the Malthusian and Staples Hypotheses," M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990, 41. Data for BRIS1 from David W. Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981) 219-27. Data for UNIN2 aggregated for several counties. For Charles, Northumberland, Talbot, Somerset, and Prince George counties, see Russell R. Menard, Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland (New York: Garland, 1985) 115. For York and Lancaster counties, see Menard, "From Servants to Slaves" 365. Middlesex county data was provided by the Rutmans. Although SERVTPRC is strictly applicable only to male servants, lacking separate totals of UNIN2 for males and females, we will combine both males and females in determination of both BRIS1 and UNIN2.

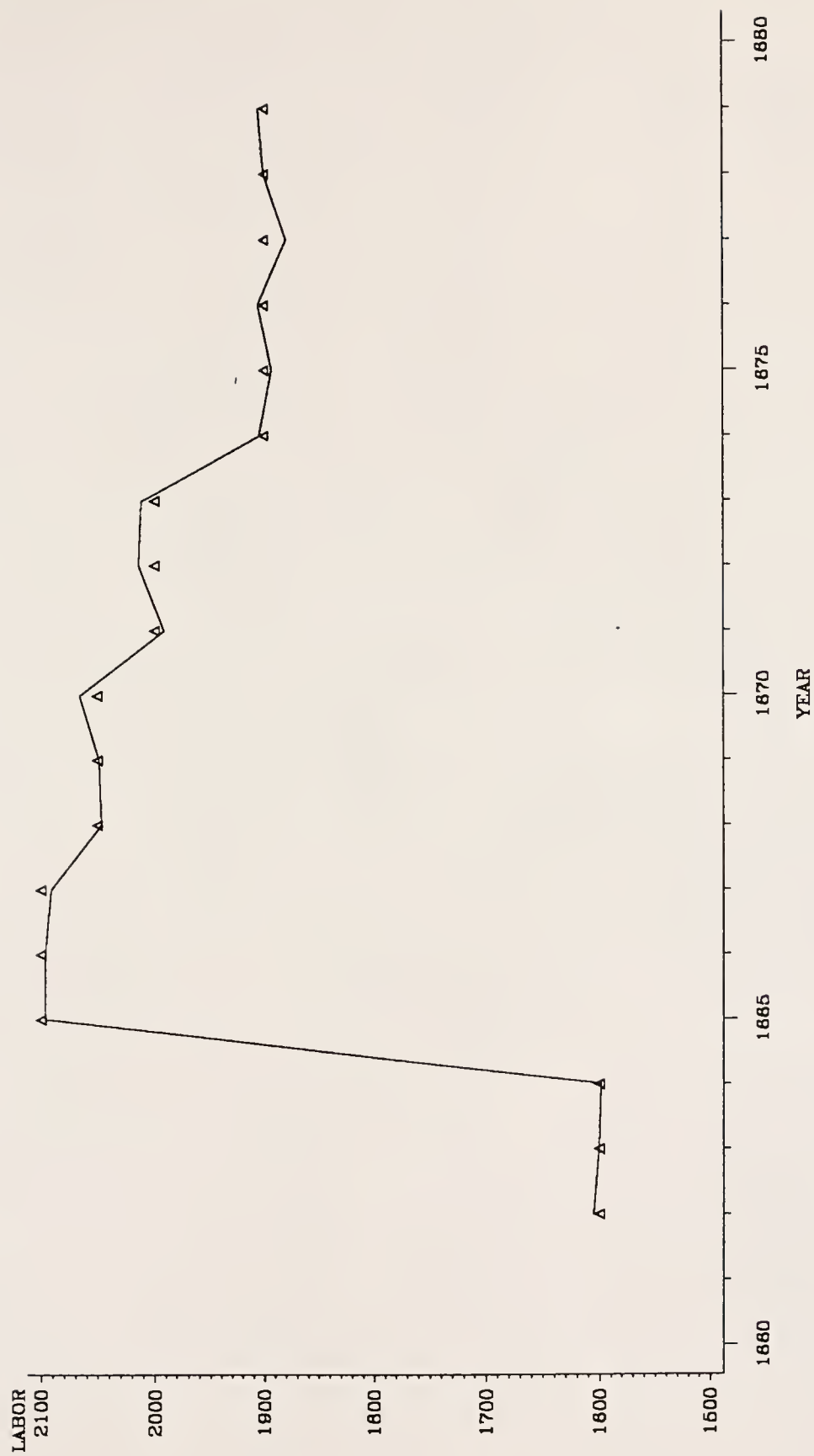


FIGURE V  
PREDICTED VERSUS ACTUAL SERVANT PRICES, 1662-1679

ACTUAL SERVANT PRICES (PENCE STG) Δ Δ Δ

values and thus decreased demand for labor and that falling average and minimum tobacco prices led to higher servant values and thus increased demand for labor--reveal the basic similarity between tobacco production and labor-demand decisions. *Ceteris paribus*, a fall in the lagged four-year running average price of tobacco (PL4) of a tenth of a penny led to an increase in servant value of 78 pounds of tobacco and a fall in the eight-year minimum price (PMIN8) of the same amount led to an increase of 98 pounds of tobacco. Thus--taking the impact of current, average, and minimum prices together--as a result of the fall in tobacco prices, holding all other factors constant, masters in 1676, when prices were relatively low, would have paid 1194 pounds of tobacco more for a servant than they did in 1662 when prices were relatively high.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, rising prices after Bacon's Rebellion would have resulted in masters in 1679 paying 68 pounds of tobacco less per servant than they had in 1676.<sup>75</sup>

However, before jumping to the conclusion that tobacco productivity and demand for labor paralleled each other, one should note the reversal of the sign on the check variable (CHECK) between Tables I and III. The check variable was designed to measure whether those years in which tobacco prices fell from the previous year had any different impact from years in which prices rose or stayed the same, regardless of the amount or rate of fall. In contrast to the



stimulating effect on tobacco productivity suggested by the positive coefficient on CHECK in Table I, the negative coefficient in Table III suggests that such a fall in prices reduced the demand for labor. Thus, a short-run fall in tobacco prices had a statistically different impact than a short-run rise in tobacco prices, reducing the value of a servant and thus the demand for labor while simultaneously stimulating tobacco productivity. It is unclear whether this reflects a constraint on an expansionary impulse due to income limitations in times of falling tobacco prices, a retreat into greater dependency on family labor supply while simultaneously intensifying household production, or something else altogether, but it definitely suggests that extensification and intensification were not exactly parallel responses of planters.

The negative coefficient on unindentured servants (UNIN2) confirms expectations based on quantity and/or quality effects, but the positive coefficient on Bristol indentured servants (BRIS1) suggests that the quality effect overrode the quantity effect. However, the positive coefficient is also consistent with the belief that Bristol merchants tended to supply servants to the Chesapeake at times when, out of necessity, planter demand for labor was high.

The geographic (SUM3) and demographic (DPOP1, POP1) expansion of the Chesapeake all had a stimulating effect on the value of a servant, but these were balanced by a strong

negative time trend (YEAR). The negative time trend also tends to challenge arguments which suggest that a decline in seasoning losses in the second half of the seventeenth century led to an increased demand for servants.

Interestingly, the step variable designed to capture the effect of statutory changes in length of servitude (STEP) had an unexpected negative coefficient suggesting that statutory efforts to increase the time of servitude for unindentured servants actually led to a decrease in the value of servants of 434 pounds of tobacco after 1666. Why longer terms should have decreased the value of a servant is not readily apparent. Perhaps STEP simply captures some nonlinear element in the negative time trend unrelated to changes in custom.

These findings overall offer more strong support for the necessity consensus. Planters responded to falling and rising average tobacco prices (PL4) and minimum tobacco prices (PMIN8) much as they did for tobacco productivity--increasing demand for labor when tobacco prices fell and decreasing demand for labor when tobacco prices rose. However, the reversal of the sign on CHECK suggests that for planters intensification was a far more clear-cut response to necessity than extensification. Recognizing that the purchase of additional servants entailed greater indebtedness/dissaving and risk of catastrophic failure not associated with simply intensifying production with present labor

supply, one might readily comprehend why planters opted for intensification. Although the ability to pay might have been offset by tightening the belt in other areas--including increased frugality and/or self-sufficiency and selling off or delaying alternative investments--seemingly such options were not as desirable as simply increasing overall effort.

#### Demand for Land, 1664-1706

Concomitant with rising population in the extensive development of the Chesapeake in the seventeenth century was the regular acquisition of new land through the process of patenting. Historians have suggested that tobacco productivity per acre changed relatively little from the mid-seventeenth century into the nineteenth century, and thus planters in the Chesapeake expanded production (whether extensively or intensively) by putting more hands and industry on additional land rather than attempting to increase output from existing acreage.<sup>76</sup>

The only constraints on new land acquisition were the requirements of patenting and the continuing obligations of land ownership established by colonial law dating back to the Second Charter in 1609.<sup>77</sup> For analyses of the land patents in Virginia we are lucky to have the excellent series of abstracts Cavaliers and Pioneers by Nell Marion Nugent, from which I created a computer data base with all pertinent information for the years 1660-1706. An earlier

study showed the patent record to be fairly complete for the years after 1663 and suitable for purposes of the analysis of new land acquisition.<sup>78</sup>

As with tobacco productivity and the demand for labor, the only unambiguous proof of the validity of the necessity theory as applied to demand for land would be the finding that planters in aggregate both responded to falling tobacco prices by increasing new land acquisition and responded to rising tobacco prices by decreasing new land acquisition. But since land was hardly a factor of production in short supply and most planters had enough land on hand to increase production without acquiring new land, we may not expect to find as close a correlation between new land acquisition and necessity as we did with tobacco productivity and demand for labor. And, indeed, the evidence on demand for land is far more ambiguous, giving only marginal support to the necessity synthesis. (See Figure VI.)

The question arises whether one can study demand for land simply by studying new land acquired through the patenting process and not the regular everyday buying and selling of land which steadily increased in volume over the course of the seventeenth century. If we had good time-series data on the value of land accompanied with particulars on land quality and degree of improvement, then perhaps we could use such sales data to measure changing demand for land. But we do not have such data and so we must fall back



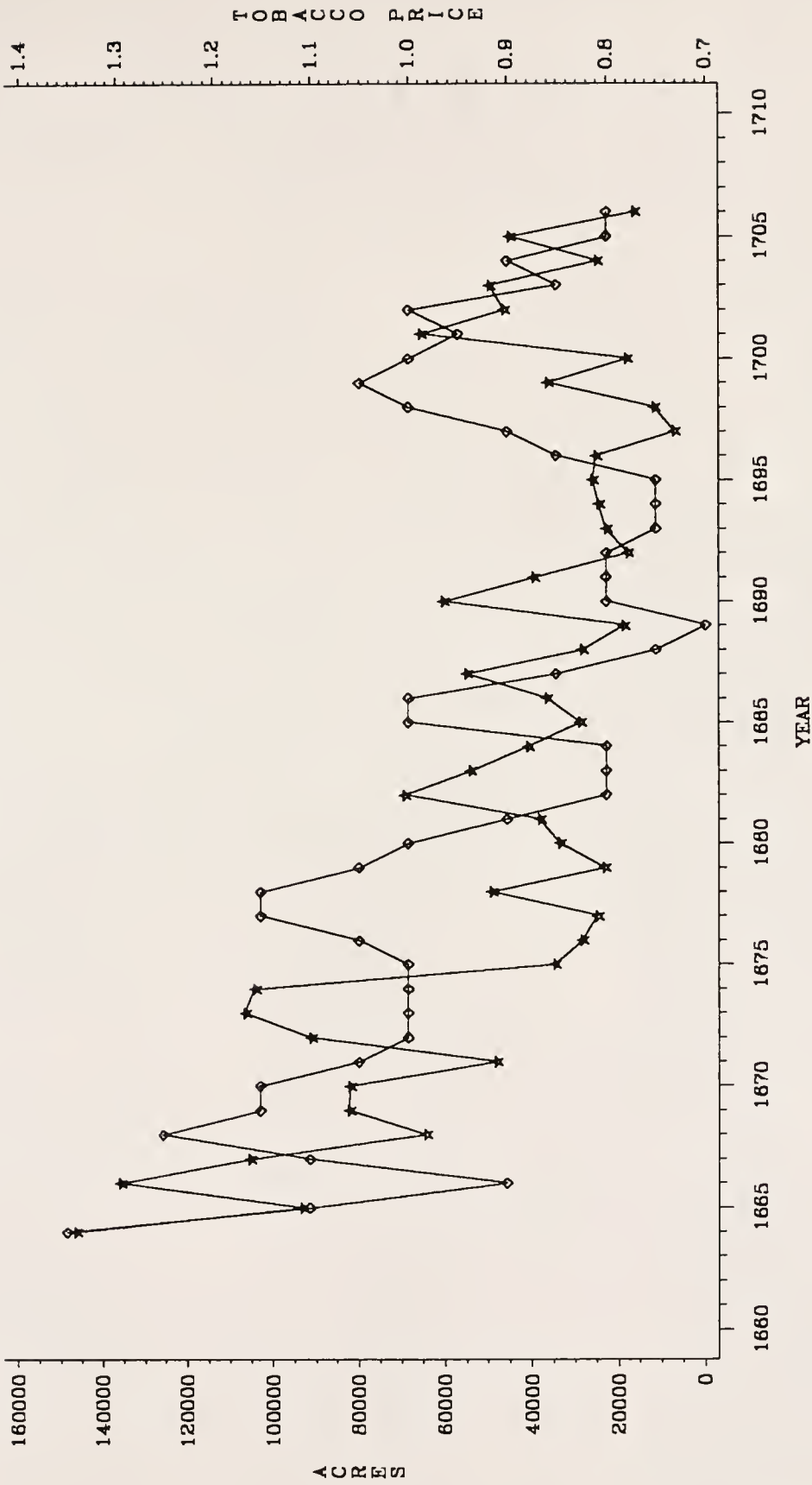


FIGURE VI  
NEW LAND ACQUISITION, 1864-1906,  
AS A FUNCTION OF TOBACCO PRICES

NEW VIRGINIA PATENTS (ACRES) ★ ★ ★  
TOBACCO PRICES (PENCE STG/LB TOBO) ◇ ◇ ◇

on using patent data to measure changing demand for land. Although the patent process may not have directly affected planters who remained in the more settled regions, it did affect them indirectly by siphoning off to less settled regions other planters who would have otherwise competed with them for land. Overall new land acquisition well capture aggregate changes in demand for land in such frontier regions as the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.<sup>79</sup>

Two potential problems in using land patents as a measure of the demand for land are corruption of the patent process and land speculation. Some contemporaries complained that, whether land was held for hoarding or speculative purposes, avaricious planters abused the patent system by ignoring all the constraints and obligations and simply patenting at will.<sup>80</sup> Closely linked to such an interpretation are historical arguments tracing the source of the "insatiable lust for land" to the rapid exhaustion of tobacco lands.<sup>81</sup> If corruption were dominant in new land acquisition, undertaken simply because the opportunity for corruption existed, land acquisition might be fairly independent of changing tobacco prices, although it is possible that Virginians engaged in such practices out of personal necessity (which might be highly correlated with more general necessity as a function of tobacco prices). But it is also possible that Virginians engaged in corruption and/or speculation only in anticipation of or concomitant

with more general increased demand for land.<sup>82</sup> Thus corruption and/or speculation could represent a function of general demand for land, a view which an analysis of the relationship between the land patent process and land ownership in 1704 tends to confirm.<sup>83</sup>

Recent historians, following the work of Carville V. Earle, have downplayed the role of avarice and soil exhaustion in new land acquisition, suggesting that planters in general possessed enough land to allow depleted soils to return to forest and recover their fertility after a period of about twenty years.<sup>84</sup> However, modeling such a practice as a variable in an analysis of land acquisition proves difficult to distinguish from soil exhaustion, since both suggest that demand for land was not a function of tobacco prices but of the size of the human and animal population, the quality of the land, and the number of years the soil had been put in tobacco production. Both models suggest that demand for land was a negative function of cumulative land acquisition, a positive function of the tithable population, and, if supply of land proved insufficient to maintain productivity, a positive function of time.<sup>85</sup> This recycling model simply suggests that planters needed less land per laborer since the land could be recycled.

Historians have long noted a link between the size of the population and new land acquisition in the colonial Chesapeake. Historically the two were linked umbilically

through the headright system, almost exclusively the grounds on which land patents were awarded in Virginia throughout the seventeenth century. In this system, the headright guaranteed that a grant of fifty acres be made for every person immigrating to the colony, the grant being "'made respectively to such persons and their heirs at whose charges the said persons going to inhabit in Virginia shall be transported.'" <sup>86</sup> The work of Edmund S. Morgan and Russell R. Menard, revealing the ready market in headrights and corruption of the system, has destroyed any possibility of simplistically equating land acquisition with immigration. <sup>87</sup> Nevertheless historians continue to believe the two were strongly linked, like those who emphasize the historical maintenance of an optimum balance between factors of production. In this view, land acquisition was dictated by the availability of labor since labor was the factor in shortest supply. <sup>88</sup> Most historians, however, more generally stress "traditional" motivations of farmers for land: the desire to provide land for posterity under "inexorable pressure of demography...always producing more sons than fathers," the desire of freedmen for land of their own, the dependence of the farmer on capital gains from land improvement rather than annual cash returns from crops. <sup>89</sup> Thus, whether based on institutional, neo-classical utilitarian, or traditional behavior, historians suggest that new land acquisition was a positive function of total or tithable



population and a negative function of cumulative land acquisition, or, more generally, a negative function of population density in terms of cumulative acres per tithable. (See Figure VII.)

One would expect a general decline in the quality of land patented further and further away from navigable streams which might be captured in part by a negative coefficient on cumulative land acquisition.<sup>90</sup> One should note, however, the significant positive impact on land acquisition resulting from the opening up in 1699 of land on the Pamunkey Neck ceded by the Indians in 1688.<sup>91</sup>

New land acquisition was also a function of capital gains from land improvement and cost of patenting, but there is little evidence to suggest any change over the course of the late seventeenth century.

Finally, as with measures of tobacco productivity in which we had to take into account a lag of one year between planting and marketing, so with land patenting there were institutional filters which created a delay between demand for and the actual acquisition of land by patenting.<sup>92</sup> The amount of delay undoubtedly varied from acquisition to acquisition and an exact average is impossible to compute from existing data. The best estimate for the late seventeenth century suggests the average lag was less than one year and the empirical analysis below suggests that a one-year lag produced the best fit.<sup>93</sup>

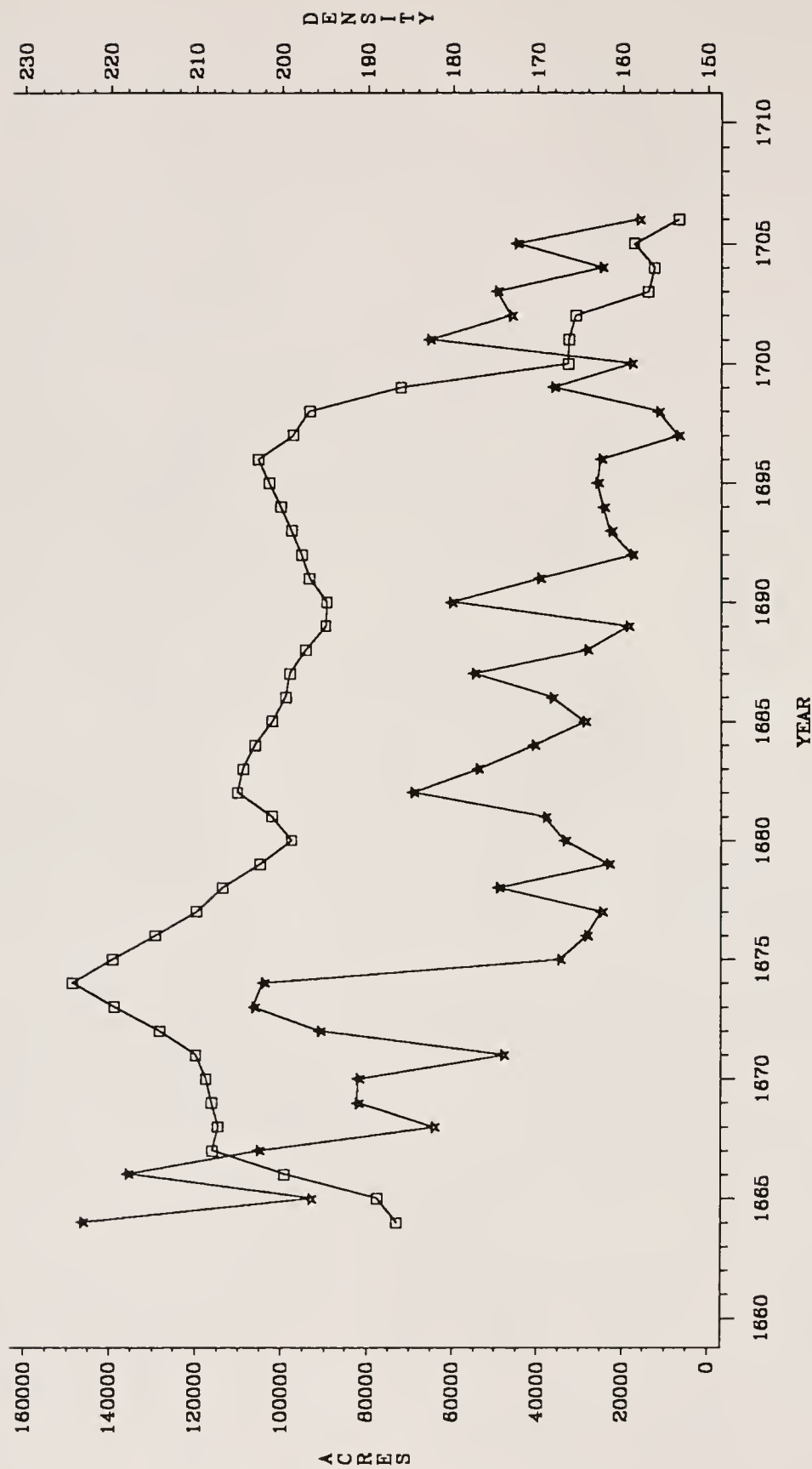


FIGURE VII  
NEW LAND ACQUISITION, 1664-1706,  
AS A FUNCTION OF POPULATION DENSITY

NEW VIRGINIA PATENTS (ACRES) ★★ ★  
VIRGINIA POPULATION DENSITY (ACRES/TITHABLE) □ □ □

The best-fit equation for new land acquisition for the years 1664-1706 is presented in Table IV. Figure VIII graphically reveals the closeness of the match between predicted and actual measures of new land acquisition. The analysis shows that necessity as modeled by average and minimum tobacco prices had a statistically insignificant impact on new land acquisition. The model on land acquisition does not explain as much of the variance as the models of tobacco productivity and servant values; the coefficient on the average-price variable (PA2) and the check variable (CHECK) are insignificant with the right sign, and the coefficient on the minimum-price variable (PMIN4) is insignificant and the wrong sign. However, the magnitude of the coefficients at least suggests that demand for land did not move in the opposite direction from demand for labor and tobacco productivity. A fall in the two-year average price of tobacco (PA2) of a tenth of a penny led to an increase in demand for land of 9170 acres, while a fall in the four-year minimum price (PMIN4) of the same amount led, *ceteris paribus*, only to a decrease of 4550 acres. Furthermore, a fall in the price of tobacco since the previous year, regardless of the magnitude (as captured by CHECK), led to an increase in demand for land of 11130 acres. Thus, as a result of the fall in tobacco prices, if all other factors were held constant, planters in 1694 when prices were relatively low would have demanded 21480 acres more than they did in 1667

Table IV  
New Land Acquisition, 1664-1706,  
Multiple Regression Analysis

Independent Variable	Coefficient	T-Statistic
Intercept	-4129	-1.6
PA2	-91.73	-1.6
PMIN4	45.48	1.0
SUM1	-120.8*	-4.1
POP1	1.524	0.5
DPOP2	8.392	1.7
CHECK	11.13	1.7
YEAR	2.731	1.7
R <sup>2</sup>	0.753	
D.W.	2.20	
N	43	

\* denotes statistical significance at the 5% level of significance

Note: See Appendix I.

Dependent Variable:

ACRES      new Virginia land patents (000 acres)

Independent Variables:

Note: Lagging all the variables by one year was found to provide the best fit, suggesting the patent process took approximately one year, and the variables were accordingly corrected. Thus the term "current" refers actually to the year the patent process was started rather than finished and "previous" refers to years before the "current" year.

PA2      unweighted average tobacco price for the current year and the previous two years (pence sterling)

PMIN4      minimum tobacco price for the current year and the previous four years (pence sterling)

SUM1      cumulative Virginia patent acreage for new land as of previous year (000,000 acres)

POP1      total Chesapeake tithable population as of the previous year (000 tithables)



Table IV--continued

DPOP2	Chesapeake population change over the previous two years (000 tithables)
CHECK	1, if the price of tobacco in the current year is less than the price in the previous year 0, if otherwise
YEAR	secular time trend.

## Source:

Data for ACRES and SUM1 from Bruce Chandler Baird, Jr., "New Land Acquisition in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1660-1706: A Test of the Malthusian and Staples Hypotheses," M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990, 41. Data for PA2, PMIN4, POP1, DPOP2, and CHECK from Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation," Research in Economic History 5 (1980): 157-61.

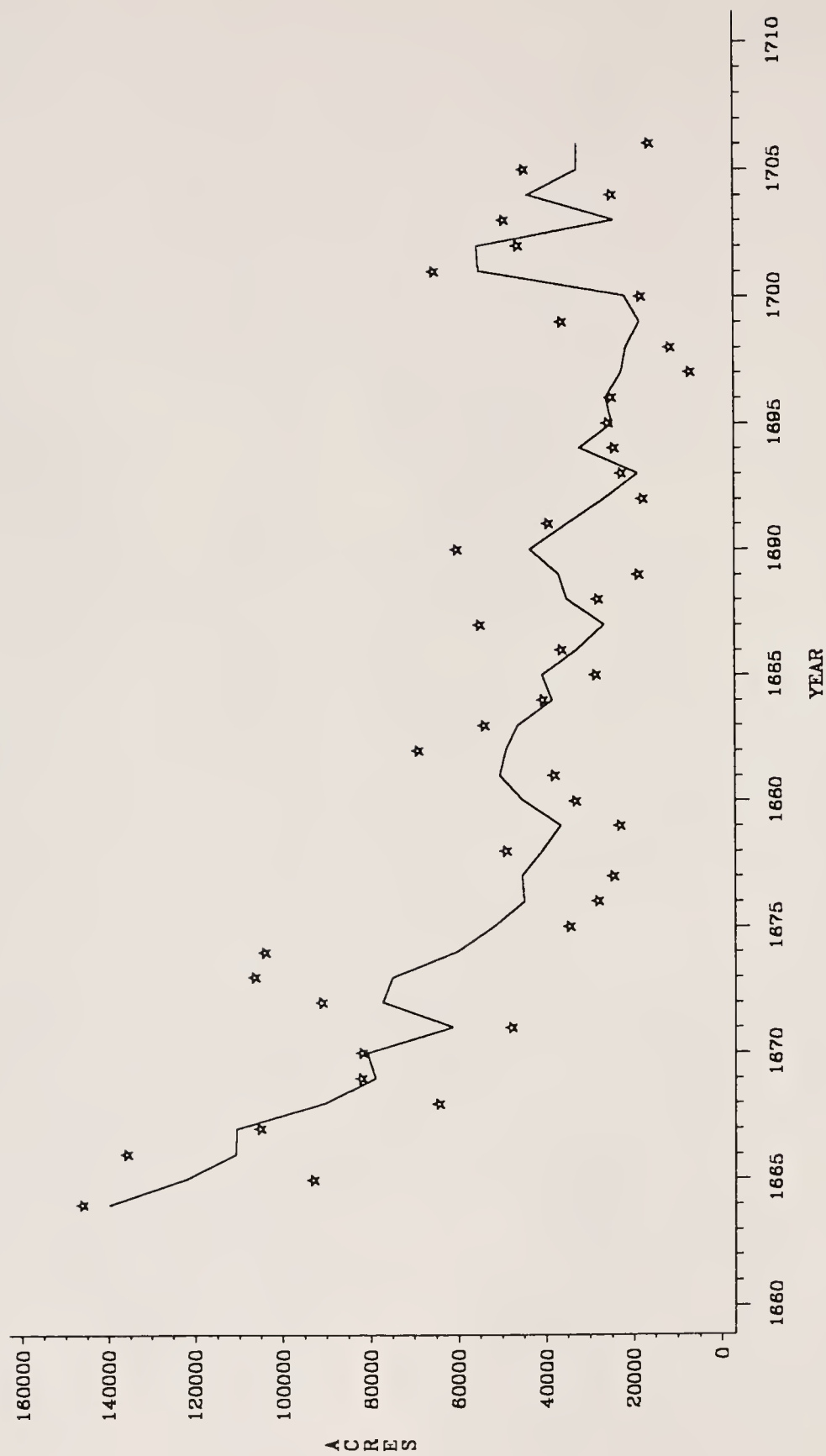


FIGURE VIII  
PREDICTED VERSUS ACTUAL LAND ACQUISITION, 1664-1708

ACTUAL NEW VIRGINIA PATENTS (ACRES) ★ ★ ★

when prices were relatively high.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand, with rising prices during the Peace of Ryswick, planters in 1701 would have demanded 14580 acres less than they had in 1694.<sup>95</sup>

That actual land acquisition went in the exact opposite direction, with a fall in new land acquisition of 80700 acres from between 1667 and 1694, and a rise of 41100 acres between 1694 and 1701, does not disconfirm the necessity model but does show that other factors were not constant and proves the weakness of tobacco price proxies of necessity compared to demographic factors in the demand for land. By 1694 so much land had already been patented (SUM1) that there was little demand for additional land regardless of the fall in tobacco prices, but during the Peace of Ryswick the substantial increase in population (DPOP2) increased demand for land regardless of the rise in tobacco prices.

The evidence on demand for land is thus far more ambiguous than the results on tobacco productivity and demand for labor, giving only marginal support to the necessity synthesis. It appears that new land acquisition was not on a par in terms of planter responses to necessity with increasing production on land already owned and acquiring new servants.

### Conclusion

The analysis of tobacco productivity, demand for labor, and demand for land firmly support the necessity model, pro-

viding the only unambiguous proof which could be offered to support the validity of that model in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake: planters in aggregate responded to falling tobacco prices by expanding tobacco production and, perhaps more importantly, responded to rising tobacco prices by curtailing tobacco production. Rising necessity in the form of falling tobacco prices led to an increase in tobacco productivity, the value of servants, and new land acquisition. Falling necessity in the form of rising tobacco prices led to a decrease in tobacco productivity, the value of servants, and new land acquisition.

The analysis furthermore shows that planters preferred intensification over extensification as responses to necessity, increasing overall effort devoted to tobacco with present labor and land supplies in response to falling tobacco prices rather than acquiring new servants and new land in order to increase production.<sup>96</sup> On the other hand, planters simply cut back on that effort when tobacco prices began to rise again. The preference could suggest that planters in aggregate faced market or institutional constraints in increasing their supplies of land and labor which channeled their responses in the direction of intensification. Or it could suggest that planters were even more risk-averse than drudgery-averse, less willing to risk investment in additional land and labor rather than simply modifying effort in response to falling and rising necessity.



The risk-averse nature of planter behavior is strongly suggested by the sensitivity analysis (such as in Table II) showing the superior explanatory power of models of tobacco prices employing unweighted previous price averages rather than current prices, weighted distributed lags (tending to emphasize most recent prices), or extrapolations from recent trends. Planters were conservative; they did not respond quickly to changing tobacco prices, but rather averaged in current prices with those of the recent past in making their production decisions. Furthermore, consistent with the safety-first hypothesis, they hedged their bets by basing their decision in part on minimum prices, suggesting an unwillingness to gamble that prices would not fall back to such lows again.

This behavior, so prevalent and so consistent with contemporaneous operative values, stands starkly opposed to the maximizing behavior emphasized by all modern historians of the Chesapeake. The question naturally arises why social historians who have done such great work in scouring extant records for evidence of attitudes and behavior have completely missed the picture. It is not because historians have not had statistical tools or hard data with which to test their hypotheses. Furthermore, as we will see, it is not because these historians have been totally unaware of the behavior that statistical analysis has revealed. The problem is that historians suffer from a deficiency in good

theory and so have had no way to treat such behavior other than as atypical. Although statistical analysis is central to testing any hypothesis about behavior, statistical analysis is worthless without good theory. Because historians have lacked good theory they have had no way to interpret or analyze behavior correctly. But as we will attempt to show in the concluding chapter, the lack of good theory reflects a far greater problem than simply a failure to examine contemporaneous operative values.

### Notes

1. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1985) 300.

2. Cf. R. M. Hare, The Language of Morals (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1952) 1; Marvin Meyers, The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief, rev. ed. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1960) v; Walter Goldschmidt, "Culture and Human Behavior," Man and Cultures: Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, ed. Anthony F. C. Wallace (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1960) 98-104; David Bertelson, The Lazy South (New York: Oxford UP, 1966) 82-3; Irwin Deutscher, What We Say, What We Do: Sentiments & Acts (Glenview, IL: Scott, 1973); Francesca M. Cancian, What are Norms?: A Study of Beliefs and Action in a Maya Community (London: Cambridge UP, 1975); James Axtell, "Bronze Men and Golden Ages: The Intellectual History of Indian-White Relations in Colonial America," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 12 (1982): 666; Bernard Bailyn, "The Challenge of Modern Historiography," American Historical Review 87 (1982): 9-11; Darrett B. Rutman, "New England as Idea and Society Revisited," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 41 (1984): 60; Daniel T. Rodgers, Contested Truths: Keywords in American Politics Since Independence (New York: Basic, 1987) 3; Paul A. Rahe, Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1992) 80, 101, 293; Irwin Deutscher, Fred P. Pestello, and H. Frances G. Pestello, Sentiments and Acts (New York: Aldine, 1993).

3. See Fritz Heider, The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations (New York: Wiley, 1958) 2-6; Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis (New York: Free, 1969) 7-9, 73; Jack D. Douglas, ed., Understanding Everyday Life: Toward the Reconstruction of Sociological Knowledge (Chicago: Aldine, 1970) vii-xii; Marvin Harris, Cultural Materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture (New York: Vintage, 1980) 32-45, 51-5 et passim; Richard Nisbett and Lee Ross, Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1980); Stephen P. Stich, From Folk Psychology to Cognitive Science: The Case Against Belief (Cambridge: MIT P, 1983) 1-5; Paul M. Churchland, "Folk Psychology and the Explanation of Human Behavior," The Future of Folk Psychology: Intentionality and Cognitive Science (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991) 51-69. Other social scientists simply sidestep the problem by only considering as "norms" those values/expectations which are consistent with behavior ignoring other more dubious values/expectations. See Michael Chibnik, "The Evolution of Cultural Rules," Journal of Anthropological Research 37 (1981): 266n11; Robert Axelrod, "An Evolutionary Approach to Norms," American Political Science Review 80 (1986): 1095-111; Philip Pettit, "Virtus Normativa: Rational Choice Perspectives," Ethics 100 (1990): 728.

4. Terry L. Anderson and Robert Paul Thomas, "Economic Growth in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," Explorations in Economic History 15 (1978): 368.

5. On commodity prices, see, e.g., Francis Louis Michel, "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 24 (1916): 293; Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1960) 1: 212-3; Robert Brenner, Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 129. On taxes, tithes, import duties, fines, and other forms of government stick, see William Zebina Ripley, The Financial History of Virginia 1609-1776 (1893; New York: AMS, 1970); Philip Alexander Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (New York: Putnam's, 1910) 2: 522-604; Robert Anthony Wheeler, "Lancaster County, Virginia, 1650-1750: The Evolution of a Southern Tidewater Community," diss., Brown U, 1972, 61. On natural calamities, see Morton 1: 190, 214; John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription To Persuasion: Manipulation of Eighteenth [Seventeenth] Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1974) 67-8. On duties, see Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf: Tobacco Through the Centuries (Boston: Little, 1952) 114; Jacob M. Price, Perry of



London: A Family and a Firm on the Seaborne Frontier, 1615-1753 (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992) 52.

6. Wesley Frank Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1949) 123-4, 209; David W. Galenson and Russell R. Menard, "Approaches to the Analysis of Economic Growth in Colonial British America," Historical Methods 13 (1980): 10; Richard B. Sheridan, "The Domestic Economy," Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984) 43; Edwin J. Perkins, The Economy of Colonial America, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia UP, 1988) 33, 42-3. Cf. Russell R. Menard, Lois Green Carr, and Lorena S. Walsh, "A Small Planter's Profits: The Cole Estate and the Growth of the Early Chesapeake Economy," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 40 (1983): 174, 180-4.

7. See Chapter 3, nn. 54-60.

8. Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1895; New York: Peter Smith, 1935) 1: 407; Vertrees J. Wyckoff, Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1936) 191-2; Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783 (Chicago: U of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, 1975) 14; Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation," Research in Economic History 5 (1980): 123, 128. The only data on income streams at the individual level is that from Robert Cole's estate in Maryland which shows for the years 1662-73 a regular income in the 30-40 pound per annum range but sharp variations which Menard et al. attribute chiefly to booms and busts in the export sector and secondarily to unexplained variations in local sales and levels of tobacco production. See Menard et al. 180-2.

9. Planters who consigned their tobacco to English merchants, while certainly aware of past and present local prices, often did not know for a couple of years the actual price their tobacco sold for in European markets. See Bassett, "Relation" 570. Consignment, which grew markedly during the war years of the 1690s although never surpassing direct sales well into the eighteenth century, only slightly complicates the analysis of the relationship between necessity and tobacco productivity. Although consigning planters undoubtedly based their production decisions on far more than past and present farm prices, by taking on more of the costs and risks of merchants they simply tried to tap into the potential profits of the tobacco trade. But consigners hardly escaped the vagaries of tobacco prices on their side of the Atlantic which in a competitive market captured many



of those costs, risks, and profits. Indeed, the necessity consensus would suggest that the growth of more risky consignment over local sales and the rise of the merchant-planter was itself a response to the relative poverty of the 1690s. On consignment in general, see Price, Perry 31-2.

10. Wassily Leontief, "Comment," Studies in Income and Wealth, Vol. 11 (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1949) 443; T. M. Brown, "Habit Persistence and Lags in Consumer Behaviour," Econometrica 20 (1952): 355?; Milton Friedman, "Supplementary Comment," Journal of Political Economy 66 (1958): 549; Marc Nerlove, Distributed Lags and Demand Analysis for Agricultural and Other Commodities (Washington: GPO, 1958) 1, 7-8; Hossein Askari and John Thomas Cummings, Agricultural Supply Response: A Survey of the Econometric Evidence (New York: Praeger, 1976) 25-51; G. S. Maddala, Introduction to Econometrics (New York: Macmillan, 1988) 337-87. Past prices might also capture some of the impact of tobacco carryover.

11. On various safety-first models, see Jean-Marc Boussard and Michel Petit, "Representation of Farmers' Behavior Under Uncertainty with a Focus-Loss Constraint," Journal of Farm Economics 49 (1967): 869-80; Gavin Wright and Howard Kunreuther, "Cotton, Corn and Risk in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of Economic History 35 (1975): 526-51; James A. Roumasset, Jean-Marc Boussard, and Inderjit Singh, eds., Risk, Uncertainty and Agricultural Development (College, Laguna, Philippines: Southeast Asian Regional Center for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture, 1979); Mary Douglas, Risk Acceptability According to the Social Sciences (New York: Sage, 1985) 73-82; Frank Ellis, Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 80-101. Unfortunately, the general concern of these studies involves explaining crop mix among different farmers in two-crop models and does not suggest ways of modeling prices in time series analysis of productivity. See Jere R. Behrman, "Agricultural Supply," The New Palgrave Economic Development, eds. John Eatwell et al. (New York: Norton, 1989) 39-40. More promising models of prices have been developed in studies of times series analysis of consumption and savings behavior in the face of uncertainty and under the influence of habit. Most studies, whether stressing the role of uncertainty (and ideas of a "permanent" or "expected" income) or habit persistence, following the precedent of T. M. Brown and Milton Friedman, usually proxy the impact of prices by a Koyck or other such distributed lag, as do studies of agricultural supply. See T. M. Brown, "Habit Persistence" 355-71; Milton Friedman, A Theory of the Consumption Function (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957); Robert Ferber, "Consumer Economics, A Survey," Journal of Economic Literature 11 (1973): 1303-42. On the difficulties

of distinguishing between these "permanent income" and "habit persistence" models despite their very different assumptions about economic behavior, see L. M. Koyck, Distributed Lags and Investment Analysis (Amsterdam: North, 1954) 8; Friedman, Theory 14n, 97; Nerlove, Distributed Lags 1-7, 20-2; L. R. Klein, "The Friedman-Becker Illusion," Journal of Political Economy 66 (1958): 539-45; Friedman, "Supplementary Comment" 547-9; Balvir Singh and Aman Ullah, "The Consumption Function: The Permanent Income Versus the Habit Persistence Hypothesis," Review of Economics and Statistics 58 (1976): 96-103. However, other economists following the lead of James S. Duesenberry and Franco Modigliani, stress discontinuous, irreversible, ratchet-like behavior with consumption habits developed during "peak" income years. See James S. Duesenberry, Income, Saving and the Theory of Consumer Behavior (1949; Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967); Franco Modigliani, "Fluctuations in the Saving-Income Ratio: A Problem in Economic Forecasting," Studies in Income and Wealth, Vol. 11 (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1949) 369-441; Tom E. Davis, "The Consumption Function as a Tool for Prediction," Review of Economics and Statistics 34 (1952): 270-7; Donald Wittman, "The Peak Income Hypothesis: An Econometric Reinvestigation," Review of Economics and Statistics 65 (1983): 358-60. Although no one as far as I have found has applied such peak income models to studies of supply behavior under conditions of uncertainty or the influence of habit, the idea that effort as a result of uncertainty or habit might be a function, not of peak maximum, but "valley minimum" income seems rather inviting.

12. See Menard, "Farm Prices" 80, 82. Indeed, an analysis of new land acquisition in the sweetscented region of Virginia shows a stronger correlation with Menard's price series than with sweetscented prices, although this may reflect the weakness of the available data on sweetscented prices. See Bruce Chandler Baird, Jr., "New Land Acquisition in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1660-1706: A Test of the Malthusian and Staples Hypotheses," M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1990, 94-6.

13. Menard, "Tobacco Economy." As with our discussion of tobacco prices, there does not appear any a priori reason for rejecting the applicability of such to Virginia. It was with good reason that social historians usurped the traditional historiographical focus on Virginia to incorporate the entire Chesapeake region, for the similarities in conditions between Maryland and Virginia far outweighed the differences and broadening the data pool gave that much more access to stingy surviving records. The regional interpretation, of course, had often been used by earlier scholars like Wesley Frank Craven, Avery O. Craven, Lewis C. Gray,

Arthur P. Middleton, Aubrey C. Land, and Jacob M. Price, but had never fully overcome traditional political divisions. See, e.g., W. Craven, Southern Colonies 208-9; Arthur Pierce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Newport News, VA: Mariners' Museum, 1953) viii, 355-8.

14. Thus, after criticizing the use of the import series as a proxy for Chesapeake tobacco production, Charles Wetherell shows no hesitation in using the import series himself to test his model. See Charles Wetherell, "'Boom and Bust' in the Colonial Chesapeake Economy," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 15 (1984): 197-8, 201.

15. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia (1922; New York: Russell, 1958) 63-4; Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (1933; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1958) 1: 218-9; Melvin Herndon, Tobacco in Colonial Virginia: 'The Sovereign Remedy' (Williamsburg, VA: Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957) 11; Rainbolt 56; Edmund S. Morgan, "The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 28 (1971): 177-8; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: Norton, 1975) 109-10, 110n12, 142, 142-3n33, 302; Anderson and Thomas 377, 382-5; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 115, 145, 153; Paul G. E. Clemens, The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1980) 35, 111-2, 150-1; Gloria L. Main, Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982) 38, 40; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984) 9-24; Russell R. Menard, Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland (New York: Garland, 1985) 202-5, 239-42, 401n92, 459-62; Lorena S. Walsh, "Plantation Management in the Chesapeake, 1620-1820," Journal of Economic History 49 (1989): 394-5. Other analyses of probate records have found less of a time trend in the eighteenth century. See Wheeler 96; Earle 25-7.

16. Wheeler 56; Morgan, American Slavery 142-3n33; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 145.

17. To test the hypothesis there is no need to distinguish mental and physical effort since the necessity consensus stresses that both invention and industry increased with necessity. On the slight attention granted by historians to effort, see McCusker and Menard 238n5. There is no evidence to support the contention by Morgan that English servants might have displayed perverse behavior due to malnutrition. See Edmund S. Morgan, "The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-



18," American Historical Review 76 (1971): 600-3; McCusker and Menard 249.

18. Middleton 99-102; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984) 42.

19. As mentioned above, a planter at any time could also make a utilitarian decision to modify quantity by sacrificing quality, but necessity would not necessarily shift this strategy in the direction of increased quantity or quality.

20. Middleton 377-8n27; Morgan, American Slavery 126-7; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 145-6; Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, NY: KTO, 1986) 121. See, however, Middleton 112; Wheeler 60-1.

21. Menard, "Tobacco Productivity" 113; McCusker and Menard 120.

22. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, 2 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1975) 2: 1189-91. Since, according to Menard, there is little evidence that the price of tobacco varied over the course of the planting year from January to November, there is no problem in assigning Menard's annual price to the entire production year. See Russell R. Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," Maryland Historical Magazine 68 (1973): 82-3; Russell R. Menard, "A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 84 (1976): 401. For the price series for the years 1618-60, Menard assigns prices to the "marketing year" beginning on December 1 "when the crop was ready for sale and when ships from England began to arrive in the colonies." I presume he followed the same practice in the later years but even if he followed a calendar year there would still be no problem since the planting year nested within the marketing year. William Byrd I and William Fitzhugh in the late seventeenth century often spoke of a "forward" market in the fall and a "latter" market in the spring. However, they also suggested that differences between the two markets were highly unpredictable, based on the amount and timing shipping in relation to available tobacco. See, e.g., William Byrd, The Correspondence of The Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia 1684-1776, ed. Marion Tinling, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1977) 1: 66; William Fitzhugh, William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents, ed. Richard Beale Davis (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1963) 204. See also Rainbolt 45-6. Although distinct forward and latter markets might naturally arise



due to the nature of the local market as prices adjusted themselves to supply and demand between the time the first and the last ships arrived, there is some evidence that the distinctions between the markets rested on other factors. Throughout the seventeenth century, ships arrived and departed at all times of year. However, from 1625 at least until at least the 1690s, the principal ships followed a traditional pattern of leaving England in August and September in order to arrive in the Chesapeake by November when the bulk of the crop was ready and to avoid the winter westerlies, then departing in the winter and spring before the summer when the teredo worm attacked ship hulls and fevers became epidemic. Traditionally another peak of shipping, coming to transport any remaining tobacco not picked up by earlier ships, left England in December, arrived in February or March, and departed later in the spring. See Bruce, Economic History 1: 622-3; Susan E. Hillier, "The Trade of the Virginia Colony 1606 to 1660," diss., U of Liverpool, 1971, 96-9, 279-80, 419; Steele 42, 492. While the early fleet came predominantly from London where ships were dependent on seasonal easterly wind in the Channel, the latter fleet may have come predominantly from the outports, although the evidence is not clear on this last point. In the controversies over single or multiple convoys in the 1690s, merchants from the outports, having smaller ships and a shorter voyage, expressed a preference to sail in January. See Hillier 100-1; Steele 43, 292. During the war years 1690-1715, tobacco convoys, forced by wartime contingencies, arrived in the Chesapeake concentrated in spring but also with another peak in October, while they left between June and October. Yet, during the Peace of Ryswick, shipping from the outports followed a pattern of autumn sailings from England and spring sailings from the Chesapeake. See Wyckoff, "Ships" 352-4; Steele 43-4, 291-2, 330n13. In the eighteenth century, shipping shifted to spring arrival and late summer clearances. See Steele 42-5.

23. On carryover, see L. C. Gray, "The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco," Agricultural History 2 (1928): 4-5; Rainbolt 63. See further discussion below of the impact of a shortage of shipping.

24. Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 113. On delivery to countries other than England (including Ireland and the Continent) before the demise of the Dutch trade in the 1660s that makes earlier import numbers suspect, see George Louis Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660 (1908; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959) 169, 191-2, 208-15; Hillier 248-52, 298-330, 341-2, 351-7; Jan Kupp, "Dutch Notarial Acts Relating to the Tobacco trade of Virginia, 1608-1653," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 30 (1973):

654; Rainbolt 56. On later violations of the Navigation Acts, see George Louis Beer, The Old Colonial System, 1660-1754, 2 vols. (1913; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1958) 1: 95-104; C. M. MacInnes, The Early English Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, 1926) 147-50; Gray, "Market Surplus" 9; N. C. P. Tyack, "The Trade Relations of Bristol with Virginia during the 17th Century," Master's Thesis, Bristol U, 1930, 23; Morgan, American Slavery 198-203. On losses at sea due to storms, privateers, and pirates, see Fitzhugh 310, 313; Beer, Old Colonial System 1: 120-7; MacInnes 60-2, 140-1; Tyack 16-21; Middleton 102-4, 289-350; Hillier 144-56. On loss due to improper curing and prizing, see Middleton 102-3. On loss of moisture in transit, see Middleton 103-4; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 113. On general deterioration in transit, see Hillier 257-60. On smuggling into England (including misrepresentation of imports, illegal drawbacks, bribery, relanding, hawking by sailors, individual shipboard purchases), see The Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia (London, 1733) 4-8; Bruce, Economic History 1: 362-3n, 452-3; Beer, Old Colonial System 1: 148-9; MacInnes 53, 56-8; Alfred Rive, "The Consumption of Tobacco since 1600," Economic History 1 (1926): 66-9; Alfred Rive, "A Short History of Tobacco Smuggling," Economic History 1 (1929): 554-69; Gray, History 1: 251-2; Tyack 16, 25-7; Brooks 51-2, 56, 89, 100, 103, 112, 156-7, 168-80; Middleton 118-21; Jacob M. Price, "The Tobacco Trade and the Treasury, 1685-1733: British Mercantilism in Its Fiscal Aspects," diss., Harvard U, 1954; T. C. Barker, "Smuggling in the Eighteenth Century: The Evidence of the Scottish Tobacco Trade," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 62 (1954): 387-99; Neville Williams, "England's Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 65 (1957): 410; W. A. Cole, "Trends in Eighteenth-Century Smuggling," Economic History Review 2nd ser. 10 (1958): 395-409; Darrett B. Rutman, The Morning of America, 1603-1789 (Boston: Houghton, 1971) 63; Hillier 224-6; Rainbolt 128-9; Clemens 36-7, 114, 116. On intercolonial trade and smuggling, see Hillier 334-75; Clemens 88, 171-2. Surprisingly, domestic consumption of tobacco both in the Chesapeake and other colonies has drawn little attention from historians, but archaeological evidence and some commentaries by visitors suggest that Virginians of both sexes smoked pipes incessantly from a very early age. See, e.g., Durand de Dauphiné, A Huguenot Exile in Virginia, ed. Gilbert Chinard (New York: P of the Pioneers, 1934) 111, 118.

25. Stanley Gray and V. J. Wyckoff, "The International Tobacco Trade in the Seventeenth Century," Southern Economic Journal 7 (1940): 1-26; John R. Pagan, "Growth of the Tobacco Trade between London and Virginia, 1614-40," Guildhall Studies in London History 3 (1979): 248-62; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 113, 157-62.

26. Byrd 1: 140. See also Byrd 1: 19, 28, 97, 107, 159; Fitzhugh 204, 214, 220, 239, 342; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60-1693 (Richmond: n.p., 1914) 323; John Spencer Bassett, "Introduction," The Writings of 'Colonial William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esqr.', ed. John Spencer Bassett (New York: Doubleday, 1901) xxvi, xxxvi; John Spencer Bassett, "The Relation between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1901, Vol. 1 (Washington: GPO, 1902) 564-6; MacInnes 141; Gray, "Market Surplus" 5n27; Brooks 112; Morton 1: 327, 339; Richard Beale Davis, William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents, by William Fitzhugh (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1963) 22; Hillier 296; Rainbolt 156; Morgan, American Slavery 240-1; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 146-8; Main, Tobacco Colony 21-3; Ian K. Steele, The English Atlantic 1675-1740: An Exploration of Communication and Community (New York: Oxford UP, 1986) 41-56; Price, Perry 31, 49, 52-3.

27. U. S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics 1162.

28. Robert C. Nash, "The English and Scottish Tobacco Trades in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Legal and Illegal Trade," Economic History Review 35 (1982): 356.

29. Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus 9. See also Anderson and Thomas 385. The most recent and thorough study of the legal and illegal tobacco trade downplays the prevalence of smuggling in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. See R. Nash, "English" 354-72. See also Lawrence A. Harper, The English Navigation Laws: A Seventeenth-Century Experiment in Social Engineering (New York: Columbia UP, 1939) 246-71; McCusker and Menard 77. Laments about rotting tobacco were based on the traditional belief that the stored crop would not survive the heat of a Chesapeake summer but by the 1660s, while planters may have still maintained a strong preference for selling while fresh and heavy, curing and packing techniques were improved enough that they were not above carrying over the crop for the next contingent of ships if freight was high or prices poor. See Gray, "Market Surplus" 4-5; Rainbolt 63; Morgan, American Slavery 192; Steele 42, 329n3. On traditional beliefs, see Bassett, "Relation" 566; Morgan, American Slavery 174; Main, Tobacco Colony 37. The increasing use of convoys should have helped increase available shipping during war years and offset losses at sea. See V. J. Wyckoff, "Ships and Shipping of Seventeenth Century Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 34 (1939): 352; Middleton 289-309; Morton 1: 193-4; Rainbolt 157.



30. See, e.g., Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 34 (1977): 561-3; Clemens 86; Main, Tobacco Colony 108-12, 175-82; McCusker and Menard 236-7.
31. Anderson and Thomas 384; Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus 11.
32. See Menard, "Tobacco Economy" 116-23, 157-61, 163-6.
33. For the data, see Baird, "New Land Acquisition". See further discussion of new land acquisition below.
34. Avery Odelle Craven, Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Urbana: U of Illinois, 1926); Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (1929; Boston: Little, 1946) 28; Brooks 96; Herndon 7-9; Morton 1: 133; 2: 456; Rainbolt 56; Main, Tobacco Colony 32.
35. Davis, Fitzhugh 20-1; Lorena Seebach Walsh, "Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705: A Study of Chesapeake Social and Political Structure," diss., Michigan State U, 1977, 405-20; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 153; Main, Tobacco Colony 58, 262. See also below discussion on demand for land.
36. For various estimates, see W. Craven, Southern Colonies 209; Main, Tobacco Colony 32. Economic historians analyzing cotton production in the antebellum era face many of the same definitional problems as those analyzing tobacco production in the colonial era. On the definition of an appropriate lag for the impact of land sales on production, see Gavin Wright, "An Econometric Study of Cotton Production and Trade, 1830-1860," Review of Economics and Statistics 53 (1971): 111-2, 115.
37. Wheeler 60-1; Morgan, "Boom" 196.
38. See discussion of demand for labor below.
39. On the theoretical link between population and diversification, see Ronald Eugene Grim, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-Century Virginia: The Emergence of Service Centers in York County," diss., U of Maryland, 1977. However, McCusker and Menard suggest that greater self-sufficiency tended to obviate the deepening of the domestic market made possible by greater population density. See McCusker and Menard 128.
40. For discussion of the interpretations of modern historians, see Chapter 7.



41. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia (1910; New York: Russell, 1958) 184-5; Gray, History 1: 215-8; Morgan, American Slavery 110, 141, 142n33, 302; Galenson and Menard 9; Main, Tobacco Colony 38; Menard et al. 192; Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 41-3; McCusker and Menard 248-9; Lois Green Carr and Russell R. Menard, "Land, Labor, and Economies of Scale in Early Maryland: Some Limits to Growth in the Chesapeake System of Husbandry," Journal of Economic History 49 (1989): 407-18.

42. See, e.g., Fitzhugh 126.

43. Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 128. See also Middleton 102; Morgan, "Boom" 178n42; Morgan, American Slavery 110n11, 302; Anderson and Thomas 384-5; Menard et al. 181-2; Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus 17.

44. Rainbolt 110-22.

45. 1256 pounds due to fall in PA5 from 1.21 to 0.883 pence and 74 pounds due to fall in PMIN4 from 0.90 to 0.80 pence. Tobacco productivity actually rose only 445 pounds per tithable from 866 to 1311 pounds, primarily due to the influence of the downward time trend which reduced tobacco productivity by 677 pounds per tithable over the period.

46. 161 pounds due to rise in PA5 from 0.883 to 0.925 pence and 37 pounds due to rise in PMIN4 from 0.80 to 0.85 pence. Actual productivity fell by 450 pounds per tithable from 1311 to 861 pounds, due again primarily to the influence of the downward time trend which reduced tobacco productivity by 527 pounds per tithable over the period.

47. For evidence of secular deflation, see Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 143-4, 153; Billings et al. 121. However, although much effort has gone into developing a commodity price index for the seventeenth-century Chesapeake, the series available do not seem to significantly improve upon undeflated price and income proxies. On developing and employing a consumer price index for the Chesapeake, see Earle 15-6; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," Historical Methods 13 (1980): 96-101; Menard et al. 176n10.

48. Some historians have suggested that the threat of war led to greater speculation in tobacco.

49. Bruce, Economic History 1: 458; Rainbolt 15; Anderson and Thomas 373-4; Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-

1800 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986) 32; Price, Perry 80, 96.

50. Gray, History 1: 500-1; Morgan, "Boom" 176; Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 72; McCusker and Menard 238-47. See also Richard S. Dunn, "Servants and Slaves: The Recruitment and Employment of Labor," Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1984) 157-94; David W. Galenson, "Labor Market Behavior in Colonial America: Servitude, Slavery, and Free Labor," Markets in History: Economic Studies of the Past, ed. David W. Galenson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989) 52-96. Other scholars stress the importance of free wage labor, but the best study of wages in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake hardly yields enough information for statistical analysis. See Manfred Jonas, "Wages in Early Colonial Maryland," Maryland Historical Magazine 51 (1956): 27-38. On the importance of free wage labor, see Clemens 86; Main, Tobacco Colony 116, 119-21.

51. See further discussion in Chapter 7.

52. We presume as with tobacco production decisions that supply, whether of tobacco or servants was predetermined, in other words, that there was no simultaneous market in which both supply and demand could be manipulated due to the extended interval of time between supply and demand, whether due to the nature of agricultural production or the trans-Atlantic constraints on communication and transportation. Thus planters made production decisions over the course of the production year based on prices for previous crops. Similarly the merchant determined how many servants he would supply independent of the price at which the servants were finally sold. This ignores the potential domestic supply of servants which, as mentioned above, might have increased with necessity as planters sold out their servant holdings. Since it is impossible to distinguish the factors which affect changes in local supply from local demand for labor, we will have to simply presume that increased local demand paralleled reduced local supply unless statistical results suggest the two tended to move in opposite directions. We presume that speculation in labor (like speculation in land discussed below) reflected or slightly preceded actual demand. One alternative sociopolitical means of increasing the local supply of labor under the control of the planters, at least in the short or intermediate run, was to legislate longer terms for unindentured servants as both Maryland and Virginia did in the mid-1660s. See, e.g., Archives of Maryland, 72 vols. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883-1972) 2: 147; Morgan, American Slavery 216; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 135.

53. For the series itself, see Russell Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," Southern Studies 16 (1977): 371-3. See also Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 144-5, 153; Menard, Economy 248-50.
54. Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia UP, 1946) 409-16, esp. 409. See also Morgan, "Boom" 197; Morgan, American Slavery 127-9.
55. Governor Charles Calvert reported in 1664 that Marylanders were unable to take one or two hundred slaves per year since they "are nott men of estates good enough to undertake such a businesse." See Middleton 388n11. See also H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1658/59 (Richmond: n.p., 1915) 126-7.
56. For an earlier prominent view, most closely associated with Marcus Jernegan and Abbott E. Smith, that labelled early immigrants as "dissolute persons of every type" and "rabble of all descriptions," see Marcus Wilson Jernegan, Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783 (1931; New York: Ungar, 1960) 48-9; Abbott Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America 1607-1776 (1947; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1965); Morris Talpalar, The Sociology of Colonial Virginia (New York: Philosophical Library, 1960) 298-301. For later views, see Oscar Handlin, rev. of Colonists in Bondage, by Abbott Emerson Smith, William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 5 (1948): 109-10; Mildred Campbell, "Social Origins of Some Early Americans," Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History, ed. James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1959) 63-89; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, The Formative Years 1607-1763 (New York: Hill, 1964) 66; Rutman, Morning 90; Anthony Salerno, "The Character of of Emigration from Wiltshire to the American Colonies, 1630-1660," diss., U of Virginia, 1977; David W. Galenson, "'Middling People' or 'Common Sort?: The Social Origins of Some Early Americans Reexamined," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 499-540; David W. Galenson, "The Social Origins of Some Early Americans: Rejoinder," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 36 (1979): 264-86; James Horn, "Servant Emigration to the Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century," The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays in Anglo-American Society, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 51-95; David W. Galenson, White Servitude in Colonial America: An Economic Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981); Main, Tobacco Colony 260; David Souden, "'Rogues, Whores, and Vagabonds'? Indentured Servant Emigration to North America and the Case of Mid-seventeenth-century Bristol," Migration and Society in Early Modern England, eds. Peter Clark and David Souden (Totowa, NJ: Barnes, 1988) 150-71; Russell R.



Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," Colonial Chesapeake Society, eds. Lois Green Carr et al. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 117-31; David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford UP, 1989) 228-31.

57. Galenson, White Servitude 97-113.

58. For various conjectures, see Main, Tobacco Colony 99.

59. On spiriting, see Peter Wilson Coldham, "The 'Spiriting' of London Children to Virginia, 1648-1685," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (1975): 280-7. On the lower quality of unindentured servants, see Eugene Irving McCormac, White Servitude in Maryland 1634-1820 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1904) 37-47; Morgan, American Slavery 236; Lorena S. Walsh, "Servitude and Opportunity in Charles County, Maryland, 1658-1705," Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland, eds. Aubrey C. Land et al. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1977) 112-3. Galenson throughout his work downplays this traditional distinction between indentured and unindentured servants although he presents no counterevidence. See, e.g., David W. Galenson, "British Servants and the Colonial Indenture System in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of Southern History 44 (1978): 59-65.

60. Main, Tobacco Colony 100-1; Menard, Economy 302-4. Menard suggests a similar decline in quality whenever the supply of servants fell off, as in the mid-1650s, which would introduce contrary effects on servant prices due to simultaneous declines in quantity and quality. However Lorena Walsh notes the average age may not have declined over the seventeenth century and in particular during the period 1660-79 under study. See Walsh, "Servitude" 113-4, 131n12, 132n13.

61. Galenson, White Servitude. See further discussion of years of service below.

62. Archives of Maryland 1: 80; William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809-23) 1: 257.

63. Some Maryland masters did bring their servants in to have their ages adjudged before 1662. See, e.g., Walsh, "Servitude" 113.

64. For Maryland, see Archives 1: 352, 409, 428, 443-4, 453; 2: 147-8, 335-6, 351-2, 527. For Virginia, see Hening 1: 257, 441; 2: 113, 169, 240; Jon Kukla, "Some Acts Not in Hening's Statutes: The Acts of Assembly, October 1660,"



Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (1975): 83. See also Morris 313, 390-2; Walsh, "Servitude" 113; Main, Tobacco Colony 99. On age distribution of indentured servants based on the London 1682-7 lists and Liverpool 1699-1707 lists, see Menard, Economy 304. See also Galenson, White Servitude 26-31. In Charles County, Maryland, those under age 16 comprised only 43.8% of male servants registered 1661-79 and 48.7% of those registered 1680-1701. See Morris 321-2, 391, 392n9; Morgan, American Slavery 216; Walsh, "Servitude" 131n12; Menard, Economy 304.

65. Menard, "Servants" 363, 365; Menard, Economy 112-4.

66. Peter Wilson Coldham, The Bristol Registers of Servants Sent to Foreign Plantations, 1654-1686 (Baltimore: Genealogical, 1988). On the Bristol servant trade in general, see Tyack 29-42; Peter Wilson Coldham, Emigrants in Chains: A Social History of Forced Emigration to the Americas 1607-1776 (Baltimore: Genealogical, 1992) 5, 34, 46, 48.

67. The only years in which we can directly compare indentured servant flows from Bristol, Middlesex, and London are 1684 and 1685, although it is not clear whether these years, coming after a hiatus in the registration in Bristol, are typical of earlier years or how complete the registration was for these years for any of the places. The registration totals show that in 1684 Bristol had a 14.8% share of the male and 14.4% share of the female indentured servant flow, but increased its respective share to 47.9% and 23.4% in 1685. Although an analysis of merchant supply lies outside the scope of this dissertation, a preliminary analysis of merchant supply suggests it is likely that outport merchants were more likely to focus on the Chesapeake during busts when London merchants backed out and vice versa.

68. Walsh, "Servitude" 131n11. Note the sale in Surry County, Virginia, of an unindentured servant imported by a merchant from Bristol in 1665 during the period of servant registration. See Warren M. Billings, The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1975) 136. Although the lack of age data for Bristol makes it hard to compare the selective nature of the Bristol registers 1654-86 with those of London 1683-6, Middlesex 1683-4, and Liverpool 1699-1707, based on the distribution by sex it appears that Bristol falls somewhere between the more select Middlesex servant registration and the more inclusive London and Liverpool registration. See Galenson, White Servitude 23-4. For an overview of the history of the different registers, see Galenson, White Servitude 183-93.

69. See Bruce, Economic History 2: 41-3; Gray, History 1: 365; Morris 393-5; Main, Tobacco Colony 116-8; Menard, Economy 69-70.

70. On the strong correlation between years left to serve and the value of a servant, see Bruce, Economic History 2: 51-2; Morgan, American Slavery 176.

71. For planter views, see, e.g., Archives of Maryland 2: 147.

72. Walsh, "Servitude" 114.

73. Morgan, American Slavery 180-5; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 33 (1976): 31-60; Menard, "Servants" 373; Galenson, White Servitude 101, 152, 266-7n20; Main, Tobacco Colony 98-9. However, it is possible that, independent of any general improvements in seasoning mortality, the particular mortality of servants with four years left to serve might have been improving with a gradual shift to younger servants and the increasing average length of service (thus increasing the proportion of seasoned servants among those with four years left to serve). See Morgan, American Slavery 175.

74. 780 pounds due to fall in PL4 from 1.64 to 1.00, 492 pounds due to fall in PMIN8 from 1.50 to 1.00, and 205 pounds due to fall in PRICE from 1.60 to 1.05. The actual servant value increased by only 300 pounds of tobacco, primarily due to the influence of the downward time trend, a decrease in the rate of population and geographic expansion, an increase in the unindentured and decrease in the indentured servant flow, and the impact of the legislation captured by STEP. For these other effects see discussion below.

75. PL4 rose from 1.00 to 1.09, but PRICE and PMIN8 remained constant. The actual value of a servant did not change due to the countereffect of an expanding population.

76. Gray, History 1: 218-9; Herndon 11.

77. For the history of the land patents, see Fairfax Harrison, Virginia Land Grants: A Study of Conveyancing in Relation to Colonial Politics (Richmond: Old Dominion, 1925); Manning Curlee Voorhis, "The Land Grant Policy of Colonial Virginia 1607-1774," diss., U of Virginia, 1940; Marshall Harris, Origin of the Land Tenure System in the United States (Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1953) 199-208. On Maryland land patents, which differed in some particulars from the Virginia system, see Harris 215-20; Earle 193; Main, Tobacco Colony 117.

78. See Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 33-8.

79. For a similar analysis of the antebellum South and North, see Stanley Lebergott, "The Demand for Land: The United States, 1820-1860," Journal of Economic History 45 (1985): 181-212.

80. "Instructions to Berkeley, 1662," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 3 (1895): 19; "Aspinwall Papers," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th ser. 9 (1871): 164; "The Randolph Manuscript," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 19 (1911): 6. See also Wertenbaker, Patrician 96-9; Manning C. Voorhis, "Crown versus Council in the Virginia Land Policy," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 3 (1946): 499-514; Rainbolt 136, 146-8; Morgan, American Slavery 218-9.

81. Billings et al. 121. See also Bruce, Economic History 1: 424; 2: 522; Beer, Origins 250n; A. Craven, Soil Exhaustion; Brooks 97; Morton 1: 231; 2: 482; Davis, Fitzhugh 20. A contemporary, Francis Louis Michel, noted the more gradual exhaustion of soil. See Michel 31.

82. Gray, History 1: 86; Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 72-5.

83. Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 43-68.

84. Earle 14, 24-30; Main, Tobacco Colony 41; Menard et al. 179.

85. Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 75-7.

86. Harrison 16-7.

87. Bruce, Economic History 1: 522-4; Edmund S. Morgan, "Headrights and Head Counts: A Review Article," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 80 (1972): 361-71; Russell R. Menard, "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay," Maryland Historical Magazine 68 (1973): 323-4; Morgan, American Slavery 114-5n33; Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 104-6. For examples of the naive assumption, see Wesley Frank Craven, White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1971); Rainbolt 15.

88. Wheeler 35-8, 61-3, 94-5; Clemens 72; Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 68-9.

89. Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 178-9. See also Gray, History 1: 85; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, "Historians and the Southern Colonies," The Reinterpretation of Early American History, ed. Ray Allen Billington (San Marino, CA: Hunting-



ton Library, 1966) 92; Rutman, Morning 84-6; Earle 195; James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalité in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 3-32; T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676 (New York: Oxford UP, 1980) 40; Main, Tobacco Colony 42; Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 72-5, 259n21; Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 75-92. The impact of newly freed servants on demand for land is difficult to determine. If former masters possessed sufficient land for their former servants, the same land was available for renting by freedmen. Most historians believe there was at best a substantial delay between freedom and possession of the wherewithal to purchase land in the second half of the seventeenth century, making discernment of any impact due to freedom from general population effects difficult. See, e.g., Main, Tobacco Colony 119-23.

90. Gray, History 1: 404-5; Vertrees J. Wyckoff, "Land Prices in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," American Economic Review 28 (1938): 82-8; Walsh, "Charles County" 405, 408; Menard et al. 178n12; Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 99-106. On the difficulties of transportation due to distance from navigable waters, see Middleton 101-2; Main, Tobacco Colony 36. For a general discussion of the factors affecting demand for land in the antebellum era, see Lebergott 181-212.

91. Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 106-8. On the impact of Indian treaties on land availability in general, see Wheeler 13-6; Helen Clark Rountree, "Indian Land Loss in Virginia: A Prototype of U. S. Federal Indian Policy," diss., U of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1973, 60-73, 91-113.

92. For recognition of the investment lag, see Wright, "Econometric Study" 112, 116.

93. See Baird, "New Land Acquisition" 70-4.

94. An increase of 30580 acres due to the fall in PA2 from 1.12 to 0.78 pence, and a decrease of 9100 acres due to the fall in PMIN4 from 0.90 to 0.70 pence. There was no change in CHECK.

95. A decrease of 21400 acres due to the rise in PA2 from 0.78 to 1.02 pence, and an increase of 6820 acres due to the rise in PMIN4 from 0.70 to 0.85 pence. There was no change in CHECK.

96. This is suggested by the reversal of sign on the check variable (CHECK) between Tables I and III and the statistical weakness of the coefficients on the price variables (PA2, PMIN4, CHECK) in Table IV.



CHAPTER 7  
NECESSITY AND EARLY AMERICAN HISTORIANS

Both traditionalist and modernist interpretations fail to do justice to the evidence of mind and behavior from seventeenth-century Virginia. Early Americans simply do not fit the dichotomous categories employed by historians, whether they stress the dominance of some pre-capitalistic mentalité embedded in a moral economy, entrepreneurial English gentlemen struggling to acquire the material requisites of gentility in the New World wilderness, the transitional modern nature of increasingly commercially-oriented Englishmen, the selective nature of trans-Atlantic migration favoring the more entrepreneurial-minded, or the transforming effect of the American frontier. The distinction between ideal and operative values poses a complexity of early American mind far beyond what prevailing frameworks can handle.

At the level of ideal values, traditionalists are essentially correct in emphasizing the dominance of "traditional" gentry values and downplaying the importance of bourgeois merchant and individualist frontier values. Indeed, if anything, traditionalists have overemphasized the degree to which gentility was linked to wealth, because

every seventeenth-century Virginian who participated in debates over political economy seemed to subscribe to the same ethic. Furthermore, such an ethic was not sacrificed even temporarily to the rough conditions of the frontier or the competitiveness of the marketplace.

Yet modernists have rightfully challenged the significance of such ideal normative rhetoric in overall societal development, emphasizing the predominance of unconstrained self-interested behavior in the pursuit of wealth, status, and security. Indeed, although modernists seem little interested in an analysis of operative values, such an analysis tends to support the modernist view because no matter how much any contemporary professed gentility, he never extended the concept very far to others.

Leaving for the moment the resolution of the complex tension between high ideals and low expectations--a challenge indeed for any strictly historical framework--we find the weightiest problem in interpretation where the modernists and traditionalists are in greatest agreement: the blanket assumption as to the maximizing nature of actual planter behavior. For nowhere, whether in normative prescriptions, in operative expectations, or in actual behavior, were these planters maximizers.

While both qualitative and quantitative approaches are necessary, neither tactic alone or in some combination would have helped point the historians of the colonial Chesapeake

in the right direction.<sup>1</sup> The most fundamental problem is not the particular method, but the weakness of the overarching paradigm within which early American historians work and which leads them to dismiss, ignore, or distort words and numbers--even when they encounter them--that do not fit the paradigm.

### Half-Hearted Necessity

Although we have no trouble understanding the idea of necessity in terms of relative poverty, since the word retains a similar connotation in one of its several modern usages, when historians use the term "necessity" in causal analysis they rarely mean it in this sense. Instead they normally mean necessity in the competing Democritean sense of a cultural imperative requiring no further comment but obvious from common sense that any other alternative would be physically impossible, or less efficient, or more costly, or more labor intensive, and hence less desirable. As a typical example one might note Richard Beale Davis's comment that "the Virginia settlers brought English methods with them and for certain crops employed them to advantage, but combined with them, largely from necessity, agricultural methods they learned from their red neighbors."<sup>2</sup>

Yet numerous historians of the colonial Chesapeake have felt compelled to acknowledge that, for certain planters at certain times, falling tobacco prices may have spurred the

expansion of the tobacco economy for a time. Lewis Cecil Gray, drawing his insight from some early eighteenth-century observer, was probably the first to express the idea in its modern form in his seminal analysis of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860:

It was observed that for a considerable time after the beginning of a depression period the planter class actually increased the acreage planted, trying by the production of a larger quantity to make up for the smaller price.<sup>3</sup>

Citing the authority of Gray, Russell R. Menard echoes the same sentiments:

During periods of high tobacco prices, planters may have tried to boost production by purchasing servants in hope of making quick profits; when tobacco prices were low planters perhaps avoided investments that demanded immediate returns. This is an attractive argument, but it does not fit the available evidence. Prices for indentured servants were not consistently higher in boom times than in depressions. Small planters, furthermore, had fixed expenses and debts to pay; when tobacco prices declined they felt pressures to expand production in order to maintain the income of their farms.<sup>4</sup>

Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, in their classic community study of Middlesex County, well capture the constraints on production decisions:

The farmer could not readily respond to lower prices by shifting to other crops. Even at a low price, tobacco retained an assured market of sorts. And, from the 1620s on, it was the circulating medium of the Chesapeake. Accounts might be kept in English pounds, shillings, and pence, but men paid their accounts (even their taxes) with pounds of tobacco. Equally to the point, tobacco cultivation itself dissuaded the farmer from attempting crops that could not be grown as simply, that is, that could not fit his hill and hoe system. Wheat, for example, would have required an investment of money in a plow and oxen and an investment of time in intensive and extensive clearing



and soil preparation, money and time that could be spent with greater surety of at least some profit on tobacco. After all, the Chesapeake farmer knew that he need simply semiclear a few more acres and find another laborer and hoe in order to increase the productivity (and profitability) of his farm.<sup>5</sup>

Robert Brenner in his recent book similarly concludes:

Despite their recognition as a body of the need for economic diversification, the planters as individuals generally tried to overcome their financial difficulties simply by increasing their tobacco output. This naturally led to crises of overproduction, further falls in prices, and ever-deepening debt.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, most historians have not been content to settle on a "push" interpretation of early Chesapeake economic-demographic development, favoring a more balanced if more ambiguous "push-pull" or "boom-bust" interpretation stressing both necessity and opportunity, with some emphasizing more bust and others more boom. Gray himself at times stresses boom effects, like the good prices before the War of Spanish Succession that stimulated tobacco production.<sup>7</sup> John Rainbolt, finding evidence that planters expanded production in response to falling prices, pithily notes that, "ironically, the private economic behavior of the great planters exacerbated the economic condition their public policy sought to resolve." But Rainbolt also argues that with a slight increase in tobacco prices after Bacon's Rebellion, "the modest improvement only encouraged overproduction in subsequent years."<sup>8</sup>

Following Edmund S. Morgan, recent studies have highlighted the central role of booms rather than busts.

Morgan brought to the fore the whole idea of a boom-driven economy based on his analogy of Virginia in the 1620s to a mining camp caught up in gold fever.<sup>9</sup> Menard, John J. McCusker, Paul G. E. Clemens, Gloria L. Main, and Allan Kulikoff, under the aegis of "staples" theory--with its emphasis on the export-led nature of colonial economic-demographic development--have highlighted a cyclical pattern of booms and busts throughout the seventeenth century with each boom advancing development in a ratchet-like fashion.<sup>10</sup>

Yet these historians continue to hypothesize the stimulating role played by busts in promoting behavior that unfortunately would be difficult to test rigorously because of a lack of data. For example, while highlighting the avarice unleashed by "The First American Boom," Morgan--commenting on George Sandys's observation in 1623 that "'Captain [Ralph] Hamor is miserabl[e] poore and necessitie will inforce him to shifte'"--observes that "the shifts to which he [Hamor] resorted included trading with the Indians and selling English goods at prices that brought accusations of extortion."<sup>11</sup> Main, in her synthesis of recent literature on the colonial Chesapeake, while in general maintaining a boom interpretation, nevertheless paints a highly complex picture of planter behavior.<sup>12</sup> She highlights the planters' "adaptation under fire," the role of cost-price squeezes in the late seventeenth century which forced

planters to attempt to reduce debt, cut back on imports, import substitutes, diversify their crops, undertake new enterprises, and in general seek new sources of income to purchase necessities.<sup>13</sup> Other scholars have linked tobacco busts to the shift from white indentured servitude to black slavery, agricultural reform, out-migration, delayed marriage, and the search for more efficient production and transportation techniques.<sup>14</sup>

Many boom scholars have given busts an important role in increased tobacco production as well, noting that while rising tobacco prices led to extensive development through increased acquisition of labor and land, falling tobacco prices led to intensive development through increased effort (at least in the short run) and improvements in the technology of tobacco culture.<sup>15</sup> At the very least, these scholars suggest that falling tobacco prices led to no decrease in tobacco production. Thus McCusker and Menard, while highlighting the role of booms in their major synthesis of the literature on colonial economic-demographic development, reject the argument that lower tobacco prices led to withdrawal from the market, noting that "low prices for tobacco, for example, stimulated efforts to improve productivity and may have accounted for some of the sharp increase in output per worker that occurred in the middle decades of the seventeenth century."<sup>16</sup> Clemens argues that through the early 1680s "the price of tobacco remained strong enough to drive

up the level of production," but, in the same paragraph notes that, "as prices continued to fall, the pressure to increase farm production and maintain profit levels intensified."<sup>17</sup> For some planters, concludes Main,

no real alternative to planting existed. They needed the income to pay their debts and to hang on for another year. The response of people in this position was to increase their effort, that is, to raise more in order to obtain the same income.<sup>18</sup>

Kulikoff provides the baldest statement of this view that Chesapeake planters expanded production through good times and bad, pushed during busts and pulled during booms:

Increasing Continental demand for tobacco led Chesapeake planters to overproduce, and these surpluses magnified the impact of depressions. Each downturn in tobacco prices triggered a similar sequence of events. When prices began to decline, planters responded by attempting to increase their tobacco output. Continued production led to even lower prices, and economic decline accelerated. Marginal producers, unable to cover their costs, dropped out of the market, and total exports stagnated. After several years of level exports, short-term European demand for tobacco usually improved. Prices therefore began to rise, and planters redoubled their efforts to grow tobacco. The stage was set for another depression and a repetition of the entire economic cycle.<sup>19</sup>

The strongest behavioral challenge to this boom-bust interpretation among Chesapeake scholars has come from the Rutmans and their student Charles Wetherell. Closely identified with the "Malthusian-frontier" interpretation of early American economic-demographic development--which stresses the central importance of autonomous demographic forces rather than staple exports--this school of thought emphasizes the inelastic response of planters to changing



tobacco prices. They attribute the inelasticity variously to planters constantly maximizing tobacco production in order to survive in the New World wilderness, to provide for the next generation, simply because the opportunity exists, and/or as a traditional strategy that planters maintain despite the vagaries of the market because there were simply no seemingly more profitable alternatives without undertaking great risk and uncertainty.<sup>20</sup> Although resting solidly within the modernist perspective, this view nevertheless shares much in common with the traditionalist interpretation that highlights maximization as a response to the environmental challenge of the New World wilderness (although traditionalists stress the ultimate goal of gentility rather than the goals of survival and opportunity).<sup>21</sup> This interpretation also echoes older arguments that suggest inelastic maximizing behavior: comments like that of Bruce, Gray, and others that planters continually overproduced regardless of the price of tobacco out of habit, lack of foresight, or institutional constraints;<sup>22</sup> the argument of Avery O. Craven, that for a hundred years after the enactment of the Navigation Acts, with only occasional breaks of a few years duration, a depression led to an insatiable demand for land placing planters "under constant pressure for [earning the] largest returns from his soils" regardless of changes in demand;<sup>23</sup> and the hypothesis of James Curtis Ballagh, Richard B. Morris, Wesley Frank Craven, and others that the goal

of planters was to acquire as much land and labor as they could regardless of tobacco prices.<sup>24</sup>

### A Curious Blindspot

One should not, however, overplay the differences between these views on the elasticity of planter behavior. The main argument between the staples and Malthusian-frontier interpretations seems to involve the way they picture planters responding to rising tobacco prices. Nominally one school believes rising tobacco prices had little influence since the planters were already maximizing production, while the other school believes rising prices led to expansion of the tobacco economy. But, from the view of the necessity consensus, what seems more important is what the two schools share in common: the categorical rejection of the idea that planters may have responded to rising tobacco prices through contraction of the tobacco economy, an idea suggested by contemporary English political economists and confirmed by statistical analysis.

The statistical evidence on tobacco productivity, demand for labor, and new land acquisition provides some support for both the staples and Malthusian-frontier interpretations. The elastic nature of supply and demand to changing tobacco prices (albeit negative rather than positive elasticity) supports the staples view that booms and busts in staples exports were central to the way planters

made production and investment decisions. Indeed, the evidence tends to challenge the entire Turnerian influence in the modernist interpretation, downplaying the uniqueness of the New World environment and refocusing on the competitive world market for commodities, labor, and shipping of which the New World was like any other fringe part.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, the evidence also supports the Rutmans' view that planters were highly sensitive to risk and uncertainty. They hardly responded like stockjobbers to rapid fluctuations in prices; rather they incorporated new price information into their decisions based more on average and minimum prices over the last few years.

Yet contrary to both the dominant staples view that suggests planters responded to higher tobacco prices by increasing tobacco productivity and demand for the two chief factors of production--land and labor--as well as contrary to the minority view that suggests planters produced as much as they could all the time regardless of the price of tobacco, the statistical evidence shows that planters responded to higher tobacco prices by decreasing their productivity and demand for land and labor. Only in periods of necessity and falling tobacco prices did they increase productivity and their demand for land and labor.

Both the staples and Malthusian-frontier approaches agree that early Americans were industrious, taking advantage of every reasonable opportunity to maximize income. No

historian seriously contends that planters and their slaves and servants worked constantly night and day, forgoing rest and sleep. Indeed historians even acknowledge some room for leisure on the seventeenth-century Chesapeake frontier, although they would argue that Virginians and Marylanders only took their leisure when there was no perceived opportunity for further profit, which in general meant that industry was constrained by the agricultural cycle or market opportunity.<sup>26</sup> The frameworks really differ only on the strategy they believe early Americans adopted to maximize income, beliefs that depend on assumptions about attitudes toward risk and uncertainty and the nature of perceived constraints.<sup>27</sup> While both schools find no inconsistency between presumptions of industrious planters and the idea that falling prices spurred even greater levels of industry, they have to reject outright the notion that planters might have reduced industry in response to a return to relative prosperity. Thus, while historians implicitly acknowledge the half of the necessity consensus that proposes that falling earned incomes led to an increase in efforts to earn income, they find no room for the obverse that proposes that rising earned incomes led to a reduction in efforts to earn income.<sup>28</sup>

Much of the presumed irreversibility arises because historians do not associate the types of effort that necessity might promote with the menial labor which made up the



great bulk of the effort extended in tobacco culture (or farming in general). Thus historians do not picture planters and servants as undertaking greater and greater levels of physical effort to produce larger crops of tobacco until some point of physical exhaustion is reached. Rather, they associate effort with the type of progressive, experimental mental effort (necessity as the mother of invention, not industry) which leads to permanent advances in technological or organizational efficiency in tobacco culture, while regular daily levels of physical and mental effort remain fairly constant.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, staples theorists believe their model works best--in other words, tobacco production and prices were most strongly and positively correlated--in the late seventeenth century when there were few increases in productivity and efficiency left to achieve.<sup>30</sup> But this is the very period in which we found the correlation between tobacco production and prices to be strongly negatively correlated.

Such interpretations suggest a curious blindspot in all modern schools of thought: a failure to take seriously any evidence that might suggest that early Americans might have responded to increases in opportunity in a "perverse" manner. Fundamentally, none of these frameworks offers a satisfactory explanation of planter values or behavior because none, underlining a paradigmatic bias in early American historiography with regard to the nature of the New World

environment and/or the Anglo-American character, is prepared to deal seriously with the prevalence of "indolence" in early America.<sup>31</sup> This can readily be seen in the reaction of historians to contemporary observers of the American frontier from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries who have with the same broad strokes ubiquitously condemned both the avarice and the indolence of early Americans, thus projecting competing images of the frontier as a Hobbesian state of nature and a Lubberland.<sup>32</sup> Historians have simply never known what to do with these comments about lazy Americans and Lubberland. In order to resolve this rhetoric of indolence with assumptions of maximizing behavior, historians have ignored the rhetoric, downplayed indolence as atypical behavior like Darrett B. Rutman or Ray Allen Billington, problematically attempted to reinterpret complaints about indolence as evidence of avarice like David Bertelson and Edmund S. Morgan, associated the ubiquity of such complaints as evidence of a lack of opportunity like Bertelson and James A. Henretta, or tried to find some other convoluted psychological explanation for why an industrious people would falsely think of themselves as lazy, like Kenneth S. Lynn or Carole Shammas.<sup>33</sup> But any attempt to understand the values and behavior of either seventeenth-century Virginians or early Americans in general will have to do much better than treat indolence as an aberration to be explained away.<sup>34</sup>

This curious blindspot in recognizing the reversible nature of necessity certainly does not arise from the failure of historians to recognize reversible behavior in general. For example, many scholars over the years have emphasized the increased level of diversification, domestic manufactures, and general self-sufficiency that arose during tobacco busts, only to fall off during booms. As U. B. Phillips commented, "the planters complained of miscarriages and misfits, of poor quality and high charges, but they got a habit of homespun recourse only when hard times impelled it."<sup>35</sup> But such reversals imply nothing about overall levels of industry and are quite consistent with either seventeenth-century poverty or indolence rhetoric, and modern historians would suggest such reversals rest not on laziness but simply that planters were a little short-sighted in responding too readily to short-run relative price shifts.<sup>36</sup> The bias is well reflected in the interpretation of many seemingly ambiguous behaviors--such as the agricultural regression from English standards (persistence of primitive slash-and-burn agriculture, the lack of a plow, lack of agricultural reform), the concentration on tobacco to the exclusion of corn in the early years and other commodities in later years, and dispersed settlement and the lack of town development. On such behaviors, open to push as well as pull interpretations, historians come down universally on the side of pull.

The Rutmans well capture the two opposing ways we could interpret such ambiguous behaviors:

In one sense, the tobacco cultivation of the Chesapeake was crude, even slovenly, a stark contrast to the cross-plowing, harrowing, and ditching of English agriculture--the elaborate working of the soil of an increasingly intensive farming system. In another sense, however, it was a model of efficiency, of the principle of the least effort applied to gain the greatest profit. There was no need for elaboration when, with no more equipment than a hoe, a single laborer could set and tend two to three acres of semicleared land, between six and ten thousand plants, making a crop of eleven to twelve hundred pounds cured and packed in a good year, seven or eight hundred in a bad one, roughly three to six pounds sterling at Virginia's mid-century price.<sup>37</sup>

The question is which sense is more accurate: laziness or efficiency? And even if one adopts the efficiency model, is the planter motivated more by least effort or greatest profit? For a leisure preference is nothing more than the backward-sloping supply of effort which we found at the heart of the necessity model. Yet no historian who analyzes such behaviors seriously entertains laziness or even a leisure preference as an explanation when an entrepreneurial interpretation will do just as well.<sup>38</sup>

This entrepreneurial bias also underlies the general consensus among historians of the dominance in seventeenth-century Virginia of a Spartan, ascetic attitude toward consumption, presuming that planters survived on the barest necessities and rolled back any remaining profits into capital accumulation or the purchase of additional factors of production.<sup>39</sup> While perhaps consistent with evidence from



probate records which reveal very limited amounts of consumer "durables," this view ignores much contemporary evidence on the importation of "non-durables"--what contemporaries called "unnecessary commodities" or "luxuries" as well as "necessaries" like distilled grain spirits, wine, rum, and a great variety of other "strong waters"--that an older generation of historians at the turn of the century highlighted as quite typical of Englishmen and which took up much of planter income.<sup>40</sup> One can easily accept the importance of real changes in durable consumption in the eighteenth century highlighted by Gloria L. Main, Lois Green Carr, Lorena S. Walsh, and others, without the dubious presumption of an earlier Spartan asceticism.<sup>41</sup>

### Beyond the Chesapeake

All of which raises the question why this bias so pervades early American historiography. How can an idea like necessity that was so prominent and explains so much find so little room in our intellectual baggage? Certainly part of the problem can be written off as American exceptionalism.<sup>42</sup> If one does not want to go back as far as the colonial promotional literature and the poverty rhetoric of seventeenth-century Virginians with its miraculous transformation of lazy Englishmen into industrious planters, one can certainly trace this exceptionalism to the nationalistic rhetoric of the post-revolutionary era. In particular the

idea that the American character was shaped by the pull of abundant Western land was an idea echoed by Franklin, Crèvecoeur, Jefferson, Tocqueville, Emerson, Lincoln, Whitman, and hundreds of other early American thinkers.<sup>43</sup> For Crèvecoeur, in America "the power of transplantation" to a land of freedom and freeholds led to a "great metamorphosis" creating "a new race of men" who act upon "new principles." "From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labour, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence. This is an American."<sup>44</sup> Increasingly after the American Revolution, the Puritan rhetoric with its emphasis on the stimulating effect of adversity gave way to "Jeffersonian" and "Jacksonian" rhetoric highlighting the role of opportunity and abundance in keeping Americans from sinking into a state of indolence.<sup>45</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, the belief that the American yeoman was "a different creature altogether" from the European peasant had come to dominate American thought.<sup>46</sup> The American was by definition industrious, whether pushed by the duty of taming a frontier, the irrepressible competition of fellow Americans, and a Protestant work ethic; or pulled by freedom, opportunity, and abundance. These ideas, as Henry Nash Smith well notes, received their "classic statement" in Turner's frontier thesis with its blending of Hobbesian-cum-Darwinian and Judeo-

Christian elements that has colored so much of twentieth-century historiography.<sup>47</sup>

Beyond the Turnerian myth, early American historians of all stripes look back to the colonial and revolutionary eras for the original American character as support for or alternative to their understanding of the present American character, but for none of the historians could anything which reeks of irrational laziness be given any role in defining either the original or present character. Presuming a perverse indolence in the colonial Chesapeake ill serves all of the reigning interpretations of early American behavior, whether Bruce's entrepreneurial English gentlemen as prototypical New South industrialists, Wertenbaker's greedy Yankees, Miller's Puritans, or more recent interpretations stressing the traditional or modern nature of early American behavior. For modernists, for whom the Chesapeake planters have always served as solid proof of the modern profit- and market-oriented nature of early Americans, clearly anything which smacks of traditional peasant behavior proves anathema.<sup>48</sup> Traditionalists, who believe in the prevalence of a "moral economy" in early America deny, like E. P. Thompson, the relevance of an ahistorical concept like the backward-sloping supply curve of labor to people who were concerned only with use values.<sup>49</sup> For their part, as C. Vann Woodward notes, traditionalists who celebrate the leisure ethic among wealthy eighteenth-century and antebellum planters, just as

readily defend the planters against charges of laziness and would scarcely consider defending the applicability of a leisure ethic in the seventeenth century when no one had sufficient wealth to achieve gentility.<sup>50</sup>

But clearly American exceptionalism cannot be the sole explanation for this blindspot since historians are not averse to challenging American exceptionalism--like traditionalists and modernists who stress cultural continuity with England--or to questioning the morality of early Americans--such as their avaricious relations with Native Americans, African slaves, and the lower classes in general. All of the major shifts in American historiography identified by historians--from Whig to Progressive to counter-Progressive to neo-Progressive--to some degree have challenged some aspect of the American exceptionalism of the preceding generation of historians. Much leading historiography of late has sought to place the American experience within the great European debates over "the transition to capitalism" and the rise of liberalism, well challenging the Hartzian liberal consensus that America was born modern, although in the lack of clarity over "the transition from what" to capitalism American exceptionalism continues to rear its head because few have been willing to argue for a case of pure feudalism or medieval peasantry in America.<sup>51</sup>

But, more importantly, whether defending or abandoning American exceptionalism, none of these historians has been



able to escape an even more potent force: Western exceptionalism.<sup>52</sup> Thus recent discoveries of the pervasiveness of ideas akin to "classical republicanism" in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and into the twentieth centuries have simply complicated the exact timing of the rise of American-cum-Western exceptionalism, not the "fact" of that exceptionalism.

More specifically, the main reason for the persistent failure of historians to understand planter behavior is rooted in the same dichotomous traditional and modern ideal types that proves so unhelpful when trying to understand the mind of these Virginians. Indeed a misplaced faith in pitting evidence of mind and behavior from a certain place and time against dichotomous ideal types--traditional and modern--which have become blandly accepted as real types through repeated use is the fundamental flaw in Chesapeake historiography from Bruce and Wertenbaker to the present. Whether one seeks to set apart early American behavior from traditional English behavior or compare favorably early American behavior with bourgeois English behavior, early American historians are making unexamined assumptions about English behavior. Similarly whether one seeks to compare or contrast early American behavior with the behavior of modern farmers or businessmen, early American historians are making unexamined assumptions about modern behavior. When combined with a priori assumptions about the nature of environmental

forces (frontier, world market), such ideal types go far to explaining prevailing interpretations of mind and behavior.

### Notes

1. On the lack of "close statistical analysis," see John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1985) 6, 33, 125, 299, 306. On the lack of attention to attitudes, see Preface, n. 2.

2. Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585-1763, 3 vols. (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1978) 3: 1571. See also Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1895; New York: Peter Smith, 1935) 1: 261; James Curtis Ballagh, White Servitude in the Colony of Virginia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1895) 89-90; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia (1910; New York: Russell, 1958) 205-6; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia (1922; New York: Russell, 1958) 49; Edmund S. Morgan, "The Puritan Ethic and the American Revolution" William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 24 (1967): 4; R. Davis, Intellectual 2: 962; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984) 131. For a similar seventeenth-century usage, see Wertenbaker, Patrician 191.

3. L. C. Gray, "The Market Surplus Problem of Colonial Tobacco," Agricultural History 2 (1928): 22. Cf. Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (1933; New York: Peter Smith, 1958) 1: 276.

4. Russell R. Menard, Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland (New York: Garland, 1985) 256. See also Russell R. Menard, "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay," Maryland Historical Magazine 68 (1973): 328; Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation," Research in Economic History 5 (1980): 126-7; Menard, Economy 119. Cf. Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market, 1697-1775," Journal of Economic History 24 (1964): 498-9.

5. Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 42-3.

6. Robert Brenner, Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993) 129. For other statements, see Arthur Pierce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Newport News, VA: Mariners' Museum, 1953) 112; Pierre Marambaud, "Colonel William Byrd I: A Fortune Founded on Smoke," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 82 (1974): 439.
7. Gray, "Market Surplus" 5.
8. John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Seventeenth-Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1974) 56, 110-1. See also Rainbolt, Prescription 71, 96-7, 131. For other casual pull statements, see Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1960) 2: 456.
9. Gray had earlier used the analogy of a mining camp. See Gray, History 1: 260-1. See also Jack P. Greene, Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 11-13.
10. U. B. Phillips had much earlier outlined a similar boom-driven model for the antebellum cotton economy. See Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (1929; Boston: Little, 1946) 186.
11. Edmund S. Morgan, "The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 28 (1971): 191. On the boom aspects, see Morgan, "Boom" 177-81; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: Norton, 1975) 108-30.
12. For Main's boom emphasis, see Gloria L. Main, "Maryland and the Chesapeake Economy, 1670-1720," Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland, eds. Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1977) 134-52; Gloria L. Main, Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982) 5-8, 16, 18, 58-9, 69-71, 253, 274.
13. Main, Tobacco Colony 24, 48-96.
14. On the shift to slavery, see Darrett B. Rutman, The Morning of America, 1603-1789 (Boston: Houghton, 1971) 77; K. G. Davies, The North Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1974) 152; Paul G. E. Clemens, The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's

Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1980) 82, 214-5; Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 184; Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, NY: KTO, 1986) 124. For a similar interpretation of the rise of slavery in ancient Greece, see Michael H. Jameson, "Agriculture and Slavery in Classical Athens," Classical Journal 73 (1977/8): 122-45. For the opposing prosperity view of the shift to slavery based on the traditional interpretation of relatively high tobacco prices after 1680, see Middleton 134-5. On agricultural reform, see Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783 (Chicago: U of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, 1975) 14. On out-migration, delayed marriage, and the adoption of more efficient techniques, see Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986) 49; McCusker and Menard 127.

15. Besides the scholars listed below, see also John M. Hemphill, II, Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1689-1733: Studies in the Development and Fluctuations of a Colonial Economy under Imperial Control (New York: Garland, 1985) 5-51.

16. McCusker and Menard 126-9, esp. 126. Cf. Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 126, 154; Galenson and Menard 8. In contrast, the more neo-classical application of staples theory to the seventeenth-century Chesapeake by economists Terry Anderson and Robert Paul Thomas leaves no room for necessity. However, while Anderson and Thomas graphically present short-run tobacco supply as basically inelastic, Galenson and Menard picture positively-sloped short-run supply curves, both in contrast to the negatively-sloped curve that statistical analysis reveals. See Terry L. Anderson and Robert Paul Thomas, "Economic Growth in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," Explorations in Economic History 15 (1978): 374; David W. Galenson and Russell R. Menard, "Approaches to the Analysis of Economic Growth in Colonial British America," Historical Methods 13 (1980) 6-10. Menard in his later work seems to have gradually abandoned the bust interpretation of planter behavior that he employed in his dissertation for an interpretation much closer to that of Anderson and Thomas. See Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 124-5, 128-42; McCusker and Menard 125; Russell R. Menard, "British Migration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century," Colonial Chesapeake Society, eds. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 114-7; Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, "Introduction," Colonial Chesapeake Society, eds. Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Mor-



gan, and Jean B. Russo (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 18.

17. Clemens, Atlantic Economy 35. For Clemens's boom emphasis, see Clemens, Atlantic Economy 29-31, 52-6, 72, 75, 77-8, 83, 88, 98-9, 157-9.

18. Main, Tobacco Colony 24 (original emphasis). See also Main, Tobacco Colony 40, 58, 181-2.

19. Kulikoff, Tobacco 81. For Kulikoff's boom interpretation, cf. Allan Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture?," Journal of Southern History 45 (1979): 525; Kulikoff, Tobacco 5, 31-2, 78, 80. Anita Rutman critiques these "apparently contradictory contentions." See Anita H. Rutman, "Still Planting the Seeds of Hope: The Recent Literature of the Early Chesapeake Region," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 95 (1987): 17. For a similar critique of Douglass North's staples model, see James Oakes, The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders (New York: Vintage, 1983) 265-6n.

20. Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 42-3, 75, 183-4; Charles Wetherell, "'Boom and Bust' in the Colonial Chesapeake Economy," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 15 (1984): 185-210, esp. 197, 204, 208-9; A. Rutman, "Still Planting" 5-7; Darrett B. Rutman, Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1600-1850 (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1994) 10-1.

21. See Chapter 1.

22. Bruce, Economic History 1: 408; George Louis Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System 1578-1660 (1908; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959) 92; Avery O. Craven, Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1926) 56; Gray, History 1: 275-6; Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf: Tobacco Through the Centuries (Boston: Little, 1952) 154; R. Davis, Intellectual 2: 940-4.

23. A. Craven, Soil 43, 45-6, 55-6; Morgan, American Slavery 172; Billings et al. 121. Robert M. Bliss applies a similar argument to the insatiable demand for land and labor during the first half of the seventeenth-century. See Robert M. Bliss, Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990) 30-1.

24. Bruce, Economic History 1: 584-7; Ballagh 41, 84; Richard B. Morris, Government and Labor in Early America (New York: Columbia UP, 1946) 3-4; Wesley Frank Craven, The

Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State UP, 1949) 219; J. Mills Thornton, III, "The Thrusting Out of Governor Harvey: A Seventeenth-Century Rebellion," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 76 (1968): 17; Billings et al 121-2; Bliss 30-1. Later scholars emphasizing a boom-driven economy sometimes seem to suggest the same insatiable demand for labor.

25. Some contemporaries did emphasize the wilderness of the Chesapeake where, as Hugh Jones noted, "all the country is but one continued forest," but clearly concerns over conquering the forest palled by comparison with coping with falling tobacco prices. See John Clayton, The Reverend John Clayton: A Parson with a Scientific Mind: His Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers, eds. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1965) 4; Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia From Whence Is Inferred A Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1956) 56.

26. See, e.g., Clemens, Atlantic Economy 194, 205; Main, Tobacco Colony 240; Russell R. Menard, Lois Green Carr, and Lorena S. Walsh, "A Small Planter's Profits: The Cole Estate and the Growth of the Early Chesapeake Economy," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 40 (1983): 194.

27. John J. McCusker, rev. of A Place in Time, by Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, Journal of American History 72 (1985): 129; Carr et al., "Introduction" 39, 39n41. However, even staples theorists sometimes give prominence to risk. Cf., e.g., Clemens, Atlantic Economy 160. Similar to the Rutman view on risk, yet distinct in opposing market and subsistence production, is the interpretation of James Henretta. See James A. Henretta, The Origins of American Capitalism: Collected Essays (Boston: Northeastern UP, 1991) 96-7. McCusker and Menard tend to obscure this Rutman approach in their behavioral opposition of a "market model" and "subsistence model" that equates entrepreneurial attitudes toward risk with market orientation. See McCusker and Menard 298-9.

28. The resistance to a necessity consensus is not directly a result of adopting either of the two leading frameworks for analyzing economic-demographic development because the theories are quite consistent with assumptions of positive, negative, or inelastic supply and demand elasticities on the part of the early American farmer. Staples models often unnecessarily make assumptions about planter elasticities when the effect of any such assumption would be swamped by far greater merchant elasticities. Mancur Olson notes that

nothing in the staples model as presented by Jacob Price was inconsistent with either an inelastic or forward-sloping supply curve, but the logic could just as well be applied to a backward-sloping short-run supply curve. See Mancur Olson, Jr., "Discussion," Journal of Economic History 24 (1964): 512-3. Menard in his dissertation downplayed the importance of fairly inelastic planter behavior compared to the dominance of merchant demand and supply behavior. Cf. Menard, Economy 254, 256-7; Galenson and Menard 6-10. For Malthusian-frontier models, short-run elasticities--whether positive, negative, or inelastic--might very well be insignificant in comparison to long-run developments with which they are far more concerned. Furthermore, the necessity consensus by itself does not resolve the nature of the interdependence between economic and demographic forces in early American development.

29. Most historians who even bother to mention the subject give little more than passing notice to any role for changing levels of industry. See, e.g., Morgan, American Slavery 142-3n33; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 145; Main, Tobacco Colony 40.

30. Morgan, American Slavery 110, 302; Main, Tobacco Colony 38; Menard et al. 192.

31. See, e.g., the essays in Stephen Innes, ed., Work and Labor in Early America (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988). The exception that proves the rule is Mechal Sobel, The World They Made Together (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987) esp. 21-6, 62-4.

32. On seventeenth-century Virginia, see John Hammond, Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia, and Mary-land, Tracts and Other Papers, comp. Peter Force, Vol. 3, No. 14 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947) 8-9; Durand de Dauphiné, A Huguenot Exile in Virginia, ed. Gilbert Chinard (New York: P of the Pioneers, 1934) 109-13, 128-30, 132, 163-4; Robert E. Brown and Katherine Brown, Virginia 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy? (East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1964) 7-11; T. H. Breen, "George Donne's 'Virginia Reviewed': A 1638 Plan to Reform Colonial Society," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 30 (1973): 460-3; Richard Gray, Writing the South: Ideas of an American Region (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986) 12. See further Chapter 1, n. 16. For other examples of stereotypes of indolence and avarice similar to Durand, see J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America, ed. Albert E. Stone (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981) 72-9, 84; Carl Bücher, Industrian Evolution, trans. S. Morley Wickett (New York: Holt, 1901) 81-2; Max



Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner's, 1958) 56-7; Morgan, "Puritan Ethic" 20-2; C. Vann Woodward, "The Southern Ethic in a Puritan World," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 25 (1968): 349-53; Frank E. Huggett, The Land Question and European Society (London: Thames, 1975) 9-10. Billington and other frontier historians note much evidence for an alternative Lubberland frontier interpretation, but consistently downplay this evidence as frontier myth in contrast to the Hobbesian reality. See, e.g., John Lauren Harr, "The Ante-Bellum Southwest, 1815-1861," diss., U of Chicago, 1941, 128-33; Ray Allen Billington, America's Frontier Heritage (New York: Holt, 1966) 5, 41-3, 60, 168; Ray Allen Billington, The American Frontier Thesis: Attack and Defense (Washington: American Historical Association, 1971) 42-4; Ray Allen Billington, Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (New York: Norton, 1981) 1, 191-3, 211. That Turner himself recognized this alternative frontier potential, see his passive acceptance of William Byrd's description of the North Carolina frontier as a Lubberland, perhaps reflecting the sectional nature of his frontier interpretation and the influence of John Fiske who had a similar view of poor white trash on the Southern frontier. See John Fiske, Old Virginia and her Neighbours, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, 1902) 363-76; Frederick Jackson Turner, The Frontier in American History (1920; New York: Holt, 1962) 94; Frederick Jackson Turner, The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1938) 78-9.

33. Kenneth S. Lynn, Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor (Boston: Little, 1959) 19-20; Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town 1630-1649 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1965) 143, 242-3; Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1966) 53; David Bertelson, The Lazy South (New York: Oxford UP, 1967) 68-80; Darrett B. Rutman, Husbandmen of Plymouth: Farms and Villages in the Old Colony, 1620-1692 (Boston: Beacon, 1967) 60, 93n62; Darrett B. Rutman, American Puritanism: Faith and Practice (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1970) 83; Morgan, American Slavery 141, 141-2n32; James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalités in Pre-Industrial America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 3-32; Carole Shammas, "English-Born and Creole Elites in Turn-of-the-Century Virginia," The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society, eds. Thad W. Tate and David L. Ammerman (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1979) 288-9. With regard to Heimert's and Bertelson's argument that Virginians equated indolence with failure to perform public works due to a preoccupation with private works, one might



note that most contemporaneous charges of indolence in England rested simply on a Biblical standard of a six-day, sunrise-to-sunset work week, by which standard no Virginian could be described as industrious. See Chapter 4, n. 7. Edmund Morgan attributes charges of idleness in the early years of Virginia colonization to conditions in England (i.e., poverty and malnutrition, failure of the government to synchronize division of labor, and restraints on men working two trades simultaneously) aggravated in Jamestown by expectations based on the Spanish experience and an attempt to establish a mini-England with a full complement of occupations. However, this does not explain the charges of indolence directed at Morgan's avaricious, slave-driving tobacco planters. See Edmund Morgan, "The Labor Problem at Jamestown, 1607-18," American Historical Review 78 (1971): 595-611.

34. For more fruitful but still problematic attempts to treat the rhetoric of indolence in early America, see, e.g., J.E. Crowley, This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974) 82-3; Rainbolt 88-90; R. Davis, Intellectual 1: 21, 46, 68, 90-1, 95, 102; 2: 938; David Hackett Fischer, Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America (New York: Oxford UP, 1989) 365-8.

35. U. B. Phillips, Life and Labor 35. On diversification and self-sufficiency, see Bruce, Economic History 1: 369-70, 479; Gray, History 1: 231-3; Morton 2: 423; Bertelson 52; Earle 14, 101-41, 169-75; Main, Tobacco Colony 21, 24, 48-96; McCusker and Menard 127. On domestic manufactures, see Bruce, Economic History 2: 467-8; Gray, History 1: 231-3; Margaret G. Reid, Economics of Household Production (New York: Wiley, 1934) 37; Middleton 159; Morton 2: 423; Main, Tobacco Colony 21, 73-4, 182-3, 262; McCusker and Menard 127. See also Chapter 5, n. 93.

36. See, e.g., Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 125-6; Galenson and Menard 8; McCusker and Menard 126.

37. Rutman and Rutman, Middlesex 41.

38. Cf. Bruce, Economic History 2: 61; A. Craven, Soil 56; Gray 1: 448; Main, Tobacco Colony 44, 69-70; McCusker and Menard 305-7. We might well note here that those historians like Morgan, McCusker, and Menard who cite the work of Ester Boserup in defense of the preference for slash-and-burn agriculture--based on its greater labor efficiency until obviated by rising population pressure--might well note that Boserup's model is really a "necessity" not a neo-classical economic model, for which she has been roundly criticized by her fellow economists. See Morgan, American Slavery 53-4;

Russell R. Menard, Lois Green Carr, and Lorena S. Walsh, "A Small Planter's Profits: The Cole Estate and the Growth of the Early Chesapeake Economy," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 40 (1983): 194n36; McCusker and Menard 255-7. On Boserup, see Chapter 8 and Appendix III. For a Boserupian interpretation of early American development, see Richard G. Wilkinson, Poverty and Progress: An Ecological Model of Economic Development (London: Methuen, 1973) 164-5, 168. Grady McWhiney develops a similar approach but applies the interpretation only to Southern Celtic culture. See Grady McWhiney, Cracker Culture: Celtic Ways in the Old South (Tuscaloosa, AL: U of Alabama P, 1988) 59-79.

39. For this view, see Main, Tobacco Colony 7, 239-41, 254-60; Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Standard of Living in the Colonial Chesapeake," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 45 (1988): 136. For a similar view of Spartan asceticism on later American frontiers, see David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1961) 13; Oakes 81-7. On the other hand, archaeologists take a rather ambiguous stance on non-durable consumption in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. See, e.g., Cary Carson, Norma F. Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone, and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," Winterthur Portfolio 16 (1981): 163, 168-9. A far less common view is to place the ultimate basis of capital accumulation in the demand for more and more goods. See, e.g., Clemens, Atlantic Economy 48. However, these historians do note, in line with the necessity consensus, that non-durable consumption was a positive function of wealth and income both during tobacco booms and busts and over the course of the life cycle. As Menard et al. found on the Cole plantation, "expenditures were closely tied to income" with "belt-tightening when earnings were low" and "more lavish spending during good years," although "the relationship was not perfect and expenditures show much less variation than income." See Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South (New York: Atheneum, 1966) 19-20; Earle 14; Main, Tobacco Colony 24, 57-9, 69, 71-2, 170, 206-7, 215, 241, 243, 253, 259, 262; Menard et al. 184. For a classic description linking asceticism and the spirit of capitalism, see Weber, Protestant Ethic 155-83.

40. On strong liquors as necessities, see William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809-23) 1: 245. On liquor consumption, see, e.g., Durand 32-3, 111, 129-30, 138-9, 147-8, 151, 158-9; Main, Tobacco Colony 198-9, 210-2. For qualitative evidence on the large quantities of liquor imported, see, e.g., Beer, Origins 358; John J. McCusker, Rum and the American Revolution: The Rum Trade

and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 2 vols. (New York: Garland, 1989). For repeated condemnations of "the loathsome sinne of drunkenness," see Hening 1: 114, 193-4, 240, 433, 508; Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company of London, 4 vols. (Washington: GPO, 1906-35) 4: 454; Warren M. Billings, "Some Acts Not in Hening's Statutes: The Acts of Assembly, April 1652, November 1652, and July 1653," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (1975): 32. For disparaging remarks about individual drunkards or acts of drunkenness, see, e.g., Kingsbury 4: 454; "Aspinwall Papers," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th ser. 9 (1871): 175; Morgan, "Boom" 179. For numerous laws regulating retail trade in wines and strong waters, justified alternately by the abuse caused by exorbitant rates; the encouragement of idleness, riot, and debauchery; and the proclivity of Englishmen to drink themselves into debt, disease, and death, see Kingsbury 4: 453; Hening 1: 287, 295, 300, 319, 350, 489-90, 519, 521-2; 2: 19-20, 112-3, 128, 212, 234, 263, 268-9; 2: 298-8, 361-2, 393-4; 3: 44-5; Billings, "Some Acts" 49-50; Jon Kukla, "Some Acts Not in Hening's Statutes: The Acts of Assembly, October 1660," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 83 (1975): 85, 95. See also Paton Yoder, "Tavern Regulation in Virginia: Rationale and Reality," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 87 (1979): 259-78; Xiaoxiong Li, "Liquor and Ordinaries in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," diss., Johns Hopkins U, 1991. On contemporary comments on the English taste for liquor and a tendency toward the sin of drunkenness, see John Cooke [Cook], Unum Necessarium: or The Poore Mans Case (London, 1648) 9-10, 25-6; [Charles Davenant], An Essay upon Ways and Means of Supplying the War (London, 1695) 45-7, 137-8 Jacob Vanderlint, Money Answers All Things, ed. Jacob H. Hollander (1734; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1914) 86, 117; Malachy Postlethwayt, Great-Britain's True System (1757; Farnborough, Hants., England: Gregg, 1968) 219-20; Clyde V. Williams, "Taverners, Tapsters, and Topers: A Study of Drinking and Drunkenness in the Literature of the English Renaissance," 2 vols., diss., Louisiana State U, 1969.

On "luxuries", see "Aspinwall Papers" 11-4; Beer, Old Colonial System 39-42; Wright, First Gentlemen 72-81; R. Davis, Intellectual 3: 1574-5. For seventeenth-century condemnations of luxury, see Hening 1: 114, 519; 2: 18, 127-8; Kukla, "Some Acts" 95; John Hammond, Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia, and Maryland, Tracts and Other Papers, comp. Peter Force, Vol. 3, No. 14 (New York: Peter Smith, 1947) 8. See also Bertelson 74. Indeed one should not play down the fact that most of the tobacco income went to imported goods, reflected in the importance that the Virginians gave to the Dutch who brought few indentured servants or slaves and gave little credit; complaints about an insufficient supply of goods on ships



coming to collect tobacco; the specification of minimum tobacco prices in terms not of sterling but the price of goods purchased at first penny, suggesting tobacco was merely bartered for goods; and the fear that so insatiable was the demand for English commodities that, just as Englishmen might drink themselves into debt, so they might spend themselves into debt, as inelastic demand drove the prices of commodities sky high. On exports to Virginia from England, see N. C. P. Tyack, "The Trade Relations of Bristol with Virginia during the 17th Century," Master's Thesis, Bristol U, 48-54; Susan E. Hillier, "The Trade of the Virginia Colony 1606 to 1660," diss., U of Liverpool, 1971. On the Dutch trade, see H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1658/59 (Richmond: n.p., 1915) 74; Hening 1: 540; Beer, Origins 358. On complaints about a lack of goods, see Hening 1: 216-7. On price specifications in terms of goods, see Hening 1: 126, 150-1, 162-3, 188-90, 206, 210, 225. On fear of debt and condemnations of forestalling, see "Aspinwall Papers" 77-8; McIlwaine, JHB 1619-1658/59 46, 49, 56-9; Hening 1: 150-1; Billings, "Some Acts" 75.

41. Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth and Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658-1777," Historical Methods 13 (1980): 81-104; Carson et al. 135-96; Lorena S. Walsh, "Urban Amenities and Rural Sufficiency: Living Standards and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1643-1777," Journal of Economic History 43 (1983): 109-17; T.H. Breen, "An Empire of Goods: The Anglicization of Colonial America, 1690-1776," Journal of British Studies 25 (1986): 467-99; Carr and Walsh, "Standard" 135-59; Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds., Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1994).

42. For the recent literature on American exceptionalism, see Byron E. Shafer, Is American Different?: A New Look at American Exceptionalism (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Joyce Appleby, "Recovering America's Historic Diversity: Beyond Exceptionalism," Journal of American History 79 (1992): 419-31; Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," American Quarterly 45 (1993): 1-43; Jack P. Greene, The Intellectual Construction of America: Exceptionalism and Identity from 1492 to 1800 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1993); David M. Wrobel, The End of American Exceptionalism: Frontier Anxiety from the Old West to the New Deal (Lawrence: UP of Kansas, 1993).

43. The classic analysis of the history of this idea is Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1950). See also George W.



Pierson, "The Shaping of a People: The United States of America," Cultures 3 (1976): 13-29; Albert E. Stone, "Introduction," Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America, by J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981) 8. On the colonial promotional literature and poverty rhetoric, see Chapter 5.

44. Crèvecoeur 69-70, 84. See also Vernon Louis Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920, 3 vols. (1927; Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1987) 1: 140-7.

45. Cf. Morgan, "Puritan Ethic"; Crowley, This Sheba; Drew R. McCoy, "Benjamin Franklin's Vision of a Republican Political Economy for America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 35 (1978): 626-8; Drew R. McCoy, The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980). On Puritan influence, see further Chap 2, n. 10.

46. H. Smith, Virgin Land 135. There is no study as far as I know of the complex history of the use of the terms "peasant" and "peasantry" in American literature. But clearly by the early twentieth-century there is little discussion of an "American peasantry" except in a purely pejorative sense.

47. H. Smith, Virgin Land 3. See further the discussion of the frontier in Chapter 1. Smith notes that Turner in 1883 composed an "Oration on Peasant Proprietors in U.S," although I have yet to find an example where Turner used the terms "peasant" or "peasantry" in print when referring to Americans past or present. See H. Smith, Virgin Land 252.

48. Thus Clemens, one of the few Chesapeake scholars to even consider an explicitly reversible necessity model, just as explicitly rejects its applicability to the colonial Chesapeake. See Clemens, Atlantic Economy 93. How Chesapeake scholars would probably react to an indolence model can be judged from the reactions of Thomas B. Alexander and Stanley Engerman to Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney's attempt to take seriously traditional stereotypes of Celtic laziness to explain Southern backwardness. Cf. Forrest McDonald and Grady McWhiney, "The South from Self-Sufficiency to Peonage: An Interpretation," American Historical Review 85 (1980): 1095-118; Thomas B. Alexander and Stanley L. Engerman, "Antebellum North and South in Comparative Perspective: A Discussion," American Historical Review 85 (1980): 1152-7; McWhiney 38-50 et passim. One might note that even McDonald and McWhiney, by specifically excluding presumably industrious Anglo-Americans from their model, actually perpetuate the exceptionalist bias in early American and Southern historiography, simply tracing the rise of a "leisure ethic" to

the injection of Celtic culture into the South rather than the traditional focus on the rise of slavery and a sufficient material base to support a Tuckahoe culture.

49. E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," Past & Present 38 (1967): 80.

50. Woodward, "Southern Ethic" 343-5.

51. See, e.g., Edwin G. Burrows, "The Transition Question in Early American History: A Checklist of Recent Books, Articles, and Dissertations," Radical History Review 18 (1978): 173-90, esp. 176-7; Sean Wilentz, "Against Exceptionalism: Class Consciousness and the American Labor Movement, 1790-1920," International Labor and Working Class History 26 (1984): 1-24; Eric Foner, "Why is there no Socialism in the United States?," History Workshop Journal 17 (1984): 57-80; Allan Kulikoff, "The Transition to Capitalism in Rural America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 46 (1989): 120-44, esp. 132-4; Christopher Clark, ed., "The Transition to Capitalism in America: A Panel Discussion," History Teacher 27 (1994): 263-88. For a "feudal" interpretation, see Rowland Berthoff and John M. Murrin, "Feudalism, Communalism, and the Yeoman Freeholder: The American Revolution as a Social Accident," Essays on the American Revolution, eds. Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1973) 256-88.

52. Cf. Joyce Appleby, "A Different Kind of Independence: The Postwar Restructuring of the Historical Study of Early America," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 50 (1993): 245.

CHAPTER 8  
NECESSITY, EXCEPTIONALISM, AND HUMAN NATURE

Behavior based on reversible necessity within the prevailing paradigm among historians and other social scientists has been and is still considered unquestionably traditional, whether one associates traditional behavior with a moral economy or slavery to custom and habit. Economists even go so far as to label such behavior "perverse."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, economists and historians alike have no trouble accepting as totally normal the half of the necessity consensus akin to discussions of modern corporate responses of intensified search for greater efficiency when faced with cost-price squeezes, recognizing that when capital is fixed and there is no more profitable investment alternative, even modern corporations have little choice but to expand production in the face of falling profits in order to survive. But the unacknowledged assumption is that when the economic picture improves these same corporations do not then rest on their laurels but continue to expand, so in effect they are expanding all the time--much as historians presume Chesapeake planters did.<sup>2</sup>

Based on such an interpretation of traditional and modern behavior and the statistical behavioral evidence, one

might well conclude that the traditionalists--although they have misconstrued much about the mind, behavior, and environment of the early Virginians--have got the better of the argument; in short, that Virginians were far more traditional than modern. But the complexity of the analysis of ideal and operative values should suggest that we should not rely too greatly on simplistic traditional-modern divisions. Clearly, in order to understand how the behavior of Chesapeake planters compares to the presumed behavior of contemporary Englishmen or modern Americans, we need to examine the behavior of these Englishmen and Americans. And when one does so, one finds frankly no evidence to support a traditional-modern or perverse-normal division based on the elasticity of the supply of effort.

Certainly there is nothing contrary between contemporaneous behavior in England and Virginia. English economic historians have, based on solid empirical digging, moved far toward acceptance of a necessity framework in recent interpretations of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English economic history and the coming of the Industrial Revolution. Most scholars conclude, along with Edgar S. Furniss, that English laborers in the pre-industrial era responded perversely to changes in real wages.<sup>3</sup> Although verification remains difficult due to lack of aggregate quantitative data, empirical studies of particular industries and regions reveal a strong negative correlation between real wages and



hours of labor per year.<sup>4</sup> Many studies have confirmed as well a positive elasticity of consumption--for foodstuffs and manufactures, as well as beer, gin, and tobacco--suggesting that the target-income hypothesis was not typical of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>5</sup>

Whereas early English political economists only reluctantly extended the necessity framework to the landed class, twentieth-century scholars have made the impact of necessity on farmers and landlords the cornerstone of their interpretation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century economic development. R. H. Tawney stresses the pressure of inflation as the prime cause for the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century enclosure movement, the shift to sheep-farming, improved estate management, and industrial activities. According to Lawrence Stone, "landlords now had to run, simply in order to stand still." Enclosure, consolidation, and engrossment continued into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century as a response to the pressure of falling grain prices.<sup>6</sup> Later scholars have found quite widespread examples of Arthur Young's Norfolk landed class undertaking extensive agricultural improvements during the agricultural "bust" of the 1730s and 1740s, only to rest "upon their laurels" during the agricultural "boom" of the late eighteenth century. Farmers responded "perversely" to the lower grain prices following the Restoration by increasing grain production, thus outrunning demand and pro-

moting even lower grain prices. Squeezed between "fixed, inescapable costs", the "stickiness" of other costs, and falling prices for grain in a pre-industrial society with "comparatively few attractive alternative occupations," limited technological and organizational alternatives, and the relative immobility of labor and capital, farmers were forced by necessity to expand and/or intensify production to protect their incomes.<sup>7</sup> Other historians have seconded the interpretation of Houghton, Defoe, and Martyn of a late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century "Projecting Age," stressing that manufacturers, caught in a cost-price squeeze (especially due to the relative shortage of labor and thus high wages), adopted technological and organizational innovation.<sup>8</sup>

What has become known as the "John-Jones synthesis" of the coming of the Industrial Revolution, acknowledging the seminal work of Arthur H. John and Eric L. Jones, incorporates all these major findings, stressing the central role of cost-price squeezes in driving the economy which led to lower food and commodity prices and rising real incomes for the masses, all sparking an eighteenth-century consumer revolution. This synthesis represents the dominant interpretation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English economic development, readily reflected in recent historical overviews.<sup>9</sup>

A Universal Backward-Sloping Supply of Labor?

If we interpret the failure of Englishmen in both England and America to fit our expectations of modern economic behavior to mean that the transition to capitalism or the modern era occurred sometime after the seventeenth or eighteenth century, then we could not be more wrong. Many scholars have made us aware of the similarity between comments about the laboring poor in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England and observations about European and non-European peasants and the working class in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>10</sup> Yet, far less known and far more important to the development of any necessity synthesis, is the fact that a number of distinguished economists--based on introspection, casual observation, or early statistical studies--have recognized the universality of the backward-sloping supply curve of labor, including William Stanley Jevons, Sydney Chapman, Arthur Pigou, Don Lescohier, Frank Knight, Gustav Cassel, Joan Robinson, George Stigler, Kenneth Boulding, and Peter Wiles.<sup>11</sup> Following the seminal statistical work of Paul Douglas in 1934, every major study of labor supply, Western or non-Western, has revealed a negative elasticity. Indeed, whether cross-cultural, cross-class, cross-sectional, or longitudinal, empirical analyses consistently reveal an elasticity of male labor supply in the range of -0.1 to -0.3.<sup>12</sup> In the industrial West this response took the form of more years of schooling, an older

age of entry into the labor force, a younger age at retirement, fewer hours of labor per day and for fewer days per week, more holidays and longer vacations, while real wages were steadily rising.

Similar evidence of a negative elasticity in the supply of effort has emerged in the last twenty years from experimental and field studies of modern American farmers and Third World peasants alike, the insurance industry, and business corporations.<sup>13</sup> These studies reveal necessity to be as reversible with modern firms as we found it to be with seventeenth-century Chesapeake planters, with the modern firm ubiquitously pervaded by "organizational slack" and "X-inefficiency" which only tightens up during recessions, promptly to return again with prosperity.<sup>14</sup>

In the face of such evidence from supposedly modern countries, a student who discovered these principles by examining economic development in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake feels very much like the distinguished development economist Albert O. Hirschman who, based on his experience in South America in the 1950s, sought to challenge neo-classical theories by devising a general economic principle for the economic development of underdeveloped countries that stressed the need for special "pressure mechanisms," only to find that other economists were devising the same principles for advanced countries. Indeed, they had independently discovered a principle with "a far wider, perhaps



even universal, range...a much more generally valid approach to the understanding of change and growth. In other words, I set out to learn about others, and in the end learned about ourselves."<sup>15</sup>

Evidence is ready to hand to demonstrate that the necessity model of economic and demographic behavior underlying the work of pre-classical political economists is as applicable today as it was in their time, and finds much cross-disciplinary support because it continues to explain cross-cultural behavior better than competing theories. Although the terminology has changed radically over the years, ranging from terms like anankē, chreia, and penia in ancient times to "standard/level of living," "relative deprivation," "relative economic status," and "population pressure" in modern times, the core concept remains the same. Indeed, scholars from many different disciplines today regularly turn to the popular aphorism "necessity as the mother of invention" as a shorthand way of saying nothing more nor less than what preclassical political economists said more than two hundred years ago.<sup>16</sup>

More importantly, despite almost no understanding of the historical roots of the idea of necessity and the problems of working within balkanized disciplines, a small band of social scientists has moved far since the 1960s toward realizing the behavioral synthesis that eluded pre-classical political economists. Linked loosely by regular

reference to the seminal work of Kingsley Davis, Ester Boserup, and the rediscovered work of Alexander Chayanov, these social scientists, although from wide-ranging disciplines, share most strongly a common interest in historical approaches to economic-demographic development and political economy or, more broadly, societal evolution. Economists Reuven Brenner, Richard A. Easterlin, Douglass C. North, and Julian L. Simon; sociologists Dov Friedlander, Judah Matras and Alfred Sauvy; geographers Wilbur Zelinsky, David R. Harris, and David B. Grigg; political scientist James C. Scott; and anthropologists Robert L. Carneiro, Mark N. Cohen, Donald E. Dumond, Michael Jochim, Robert M. Netting, Joel S. Migdal, Richard G. Wilkinson, and Eric Wolf are just a few of the more important scholars contributing to this synthesis.<sup>17</sup> While not all of these scholars would extend their conclusions beyond their narrow field of research, they all locate the central dynamic of their narrative in the myriad economic (extensification, intensification, diversification, specialization, innovation, consumption, savings), demographic (migration, fertility, nuptuality, mortality), and sociopolitical (horizontal and vertical organization, resource allocation) responses that individuals and groups have made to necessity and reversed when conditions improved.<sup>18</sup>

The Trouble with Marx

The greater question we face in seeking to explain the failure of historians to explain adequately the mind and behavior of seventeenth-century Virginians thus cannot be simply ascribed to American exceptionalism or limited to the historical discipline. Indeed the problem is the greater one of Western exceptionalism spread throughout the social sciences. Twentieth-century American exceptionalism rests solidly upon a foundation of Western exceptionalism, both sharing in all of the great "isms" that scholars have so carefully traced from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment onward--Romanticism, idealism, socialism, utilitarianism, progressivism, evolutionism, capitalism, political and economic liberalism--that intertwined in complex ways to undermine so thoroughly any idea of the world resting on a common human nature and necessity.<sup>19</sup> By the late nineteenth century most Western thinkers conceived of themselves and their world as fundamentally different from anything that had come before or that existed in any other part of the world.

The pre-classical indolence model was gradually usurped over the course of the nineteenth century by competing progressivist and avarice models. Progressivists began to describe cultural differences past and present as differences in kind--"traditional" versus "modern"--racial-cum-cultural differences that sundered any belief in a common

human nature, original, ultimate, or otherwise. In line with the central beliefs of Lamarckian evolutionism and recapitulation--that ontogeny (the development of the individual) follows phylogeny (the evolution of the species)--traditional people represented a lower, child-like level in psychic evolution of the human species. Traditional men and societies were custom-bound, instinct-driven, lazy, and had fixed wants. Modern men and societies, on the other hand, were relatively free from custom, rational, industrious, and had infinitely expansive wants. Although idealists and positivists alike would adopt a heavy racialism in explaining these changes, primitivists, socialists, and utopians turned the normative judgment around and celebrated the traditional Golden Age and the evils of modern institutions unleashed by avarice.

Combining both progressivist and avarice models in his historicization of Aristotle's distinction between domestic economy and chrematistics, Karl Marx added a new ingredient to these nineteenth-century developments: the idea of the irrepressible force of capitalism as a perpetua necessitas, a Darwinian struggle that relentlessly pushed men under the capitalist mode of production, regardless of the traditional or modern nature of the individuals. Many scholars have noted how Marx chastised Darwin for extending his Malthusian struggle model to all of nature, ignoring that the model only applied to the capitalist mode of production:



It is remarkable how Darwin has discerned anew among beasts and plants his English society with its division of labor, competition, elucidation of new markets, 'discoveries' and the Malthusian 'struggle for existence.' It is Hobbes' bellum omnia contra omnes [war of all against all], and it reminds me of Hegel's Phenomenology, wherein bourgeois society figures as a 'spiritual animal kingdom,' while in Darwin the animal kingdom figures as bourgeois society.<sup>20</sup>

Or, as he worded this idea in Capital: "Under free competition, the immanent laws of capitalist production confront the individual capitalist as a coercive force external to him."<sup>21</sup> "The division of labor within society [becomes] an a posteriori necessity imposed by nature, controlling the unregulated caprice of the producers."<sup>22</sup>

To this Max Weber added the idea of a Protestant work ethic which could achieve an equally effective if more fragile push, enough to get the whole process started. But soon, for Weber as for Marx, capitalism became its own driving force in a Darwinian struggle:

The capitalist economy of the present day is an immense cosmos into which the individual is born, and which presents itself to him, at least as an individual, as an unalterable order of things in which he must live. It forces the individual, in so far as he is involved in the system of market relationships, to conform to capitalistic rules of action. The manufacturer who in the long run acts counter to these norms, will just as inevitably be eliminated from the economic scene as the worker who cannot or will not adapt himself to them will be thrown into the streets without a job. Thus the capitalism of to-day, which has come to dominate economic life, educates and selects the economic subjects which it needs through a process of economic survival of the fittest.<sup>23</sup>

Weber noted that more recently Americans had turned the struggle into a "sport" under "the romanticism of numbers"

concerned only with "purely quantitative bigness."<sup>24</sup> Others, like Thorstein Veblen, emphasized that with increasing wealth, capitalism was often perpetuated by unleashing the insatiable modern demand for material goods rather than the drive for capital accumulation.<sup>25</sup> But whether brutal struggle, sport, or unbridled materialism, capitalism represented an external coercive force compelling individuals to comply with its maximizing rules.

All of these developments contributed to the triumph of high-wage theory in the West, celebrating both high wages for laborers and market competition for employers. For progressivists, the idea of a backward-sloping supply of labor was relegated to traditional individuals and societies who were usually assumed to be under the yoke of the "target income hypothesis." Alfred Marshall, the major shaper of much of the modern approach to microeconomics, provided the classic progressivist statement of the perverse supply of labor:

No universal law can be laid down; but experience seems to show that the more ignorant and phlegmatic of races and of individuals, especially if they live in a southern clime, will stay at their work a shorter time, and will exert themselves less while at it, if the rate of pay rises so as to give them their accustomed enjoyments in return for less work than before. But those whose mental horizon is wider, and who have more firmness and elasticity of character, will work the harder and the longer the higher the rate of pay which is open to them; unless indeed they prefer to divert their activities to higher aims than work for material gain.<sup>26</sup>

Marshall was on highly tenuous empirical grounds for making such a statement and may have been motivated by professional as well as racist reasons. In particular, a forward-sloping supply curve sidestepped the difficulties of working out the mathematics of simultaneous backward-sloping supply and demand curves with no determinate intersection. Stigler observes that "the exclusion of backward-bending supply curves is so dogmatic that one may infer that Marshall did not analyse the utility foundations of supply," an interpretation that other Marshallian scholars second.<sup>27</sup>

Nevertheless--whether idealist, positivist, or materialist, whether favoring a progressivist or avarice model of societal evolution--by the turn of the century when the social science disciplines were establishing their independent status, a general scholarly consensus divided individuals, communities, and societies into dichotomous categories of traditional versus modern, pre-capitalist versus capitalist, whether following Hegel, Marx, Maine, Tönnies, Simmel, Durkheim, Marshall, Sombart, or Weber. At their birth, the modern social sciences imbibed this dichotomy deeply and maintained it, divorced from biology and with all but the most amenable forms of psychology kept at arm's length.

Although the racial element faded over the course of the twentieth century and the paradigm was sometimes challenged by movements on the fringes of the various disciplines that stressed traditional aspects of modern

society and modern aspects of traditional society, this paradigm still reigns. Stigler reported in 1949 that, contrary to Marshall, "most economists now believe that [the negatively-sloped labor supply curve] is typical also of Anglo-Saxons; in the absence of such an attitude it would be difficult to rationalize the long decline in the hours of labor," but there is little evidence in print of such an acceptance of perversity as normal.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the by-now classic dichotomies were given their most dramatic treatment in the 1950s and 1960s under the aegis of "modernization" and "development economics." Later critics of modernization theory have emphasized the persistence of traditional elements in the modern era and the inapplicability of historical models of Western development to modern Third World nations, but have focused primarily on cultural values and have not really challenged assumptions about economic behavior or the nature of capitalism.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, since the 1960s, the partial encroachment into most of the social science disciplines of neo-classical economic and evolutionary biological models with their assumptions of maximizing utility and/or inclusive fitness, while certainly challenging assumptions of "traditional" economic behavior, have, if anything, reinforced notions of the perversity of backward-sloping supply behavior.

Thus we find a highly similar combination of push and pull forces at the heart of both American and Western excep-



tionalism, but all contribute to undermine the relevance of the idea of reversible necessity in the lives of modern man, whether resulting from fundamental changes in human nature or the transformation of the environment into a condition of perpetua necessitas. These are clearly the same foundations behind both the traditionalist and modernist interpretations of the mind and behavior of seventeenth-century Virginians, with traditionalists stressing more the environmental forces and modernists more the transformation in character.

### A Humean Corrective

The discipline of history in the United States was born in the same atmosphere of racial-cum-cultural determinism and traditional-modern dichotomization as all the other social sciences, whether the scholar worked within a framework of cultural continuity like Teutonism or American exceptionalism like Turner's frontier thesis; Beardian materialism or Whiggish idealism; or history as science or history as art.<sup>30</sup> While racial elements were eschewed in the early twentieth century, cultural determinism--with the full support of important elements in the the social sciences--continued to reign supreme in American historiography throughout the twentieth century. Arguments like that between Bruce and Wertenbaker in the 1920s, Miller and Rutman in the 1960s, or Greene and Fischer in the 1990s could all be carried out within the shared framework of

cultural determinism--whether of the idealist or materialist variety--totally divorced from discussions about human nature, as early American historians fumbled with determining in which category--traditional or modern--they might lump different individuals, communities, or societies.<sup>31</sup>

While no comparative overview of behavioral evidence across time, space, and culture can be treated as final, the evidence on labor supply as a whole does suggest that it is time for historians to question seriously the traditional and modern assumptions that underlie much of their analysis. Post-modernists in their own "idealist" way are challenging these core assumptions. However, there is an alternative to post-modernism, one which would perhaps even more radically challenge the core assumptions of the historical discipline, but from the opposite "positivist" direction, the only direction from which one can even begin to explain such behavioral regularities. That way is to take seriously the idea of necessity and its implications for the ideas of historical continuity and a common human nature and against the ideas of a traditional-modern dichotomization and irrepressible environmental forces like the frontier or the capitalist mode of production.

Critiquing the shared myths of traditionalist and modernist historians does not deny the importance of or resolve the very real differences between these two interpretations. Their debate revolves not so much around

origins or behavior but around the traditional versus the modern nature of the early Virginian mindset. As both sides would emphasize, no matter how much empirical analysis reveals about behavior, we can never really understand historical actors unless we understand the values that underlay that behavior. Our analysis has revealed the importance of examining both ideal and operative values but has not offered a solution to the complex tension between these two. A "positivist" solution is feasible but any analysis would not yield readily to quantitative methods and would thus require a long and involved investigation into similar tensions in different times, places, and cultures to yield the same level of confidence as statistical analyses of the elasticities of labor supply. (For an analysis of the problems and a possible approach, see Appendix IV.) Pending the results of such an analysis, it is obvious that the domains of intellectual/cultural and social historians--ideas and behavior--are equally important and, for solutions to the most interesting problems in historiography, historians working in each domain need to take heed of the work of historians working in the other.

#### Notes

1. See Chapter 4, n. 13.

2. The necessity framework does not deny any role for opportunity. Indeed, it is quite possible that increased opportunity might very well have played an important role in diver-

sification, like the eighteenth-century shift to wheat. But certainly necessity played an important role in the process, just as most scholars acknowledge its role in earlier diversification efforts against quite real constraints, including more lasting diversification on the Eastern Shore, North Carolina, and New England. Furthermore, the necessity model would question the degree to which increased wheat production in response to an improving wheat-to-tobacco price ratio came at the expense of leisure (which they would only sacrifice out of necessity) rather than decreasing tobacco production. If planters had such leisure time, one wonders why planters never developed domestic manufactures to a higher degree since home production could have easily fit within any planting schedule. See Paul G. E. Clemens, The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1980) 194, 205; Russell R. Menard, Lois Green Carr, and Lorena S. Walsh, "A Small Planter's Profits: The Cole Estate and the Growth of the Early Chesapeake Economy," WMQ 3 40 (1983): 194. On constraints working against diversification, see Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1895; New York: Peter Smith, 1935) 1: 459; Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf: Tobacco Through the Centuries (Boston: Little, 1952) 97; John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription to Persuasion: Manipulation of Seventeenth-Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1974) 90; Gloria L. Main, Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982) 182-3, 262; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984) 41-3; John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, The Economy of British America, 1607-1789 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1985) 128. On the general failure of diversification in Virginia, see Rainbolt 85-8; Richard Beale Davis, Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585-1763, 3 vols. (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1978) 3: 1518. On diversification in North Carolina, see John Lawson, A New Voyage to Carolina (London, 1709) 80-2. On the Eastern Shore, see T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676 (New York: Oxford UP, 1980) 39; Main, Tobacco Colony 73. On New England, see E. A. J. Johnson, American Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century (London: King, 1932) 140; Darrett B. Rutman, Husbandmen of Plymouth: Farms and Villages in the Old Colony, 1620-1692 (Boston: Beacon, 1967). On the low levels of domestic manufactures, see Main, Tobacco Colony 72. However, clearly, if the necessity model better explains such clear-cut reversible behaviors as tobacco productivity, demand for labor, and new land acquisition, it seems quite reasonable to presume that it also better explains more ambiguous reversible behaviors like diversification and self-sufficiency.



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12. This suggests an increase of one per cent in real wages decreases the quantity of labor supplied by one-tenth to one-third per cent, and a decrease of one per cent in real wages increases the quantity of labor supplied by one-tenth to one-third per cent. Cf. Douglas 313. Such a range of elasticity also challenges also the notion of a target income (i.e., an elasticity of -1.0) since the actual supply is far closer to an inelastic response. On the elasticity of labor supply in the United States and Western Europe, see George F. Break, "Income Taxes, Wage Rates, and the Incentive to Supply Labor Services," National Tax Journal 6 (1953): 333-52; Clarence D. Long, The Labor Force under Changing Income and Employment (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1958); Frank Gilbert and Ralph W. Pfouts, "A Theory of the Responsiveness of Hours of Work to Changes in Wage Rates," Review of Economics and Statistics 40 (1958): 116-21; Harold L. Wilensky, "The Uneven Distribution of Leisure: The Impact of Economic Growth on 'Free Time,'" Social Problems 9 (1961): 32-3; T. Aldrich Finegan, "The Backward-Sloping Supply Curve," Industrial and Labor Relations Review 15 (1962): 230-4; M. S. Feldstein, "Estimating the Supply Curve of Working Hours," Oxford Economics Papers 20 (1968): 74-80; William G. Bowen and T. Aldrich Finegan, The Economics of Labor Force Participation (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1969); Sherwin Rosen, "On the Interindustry Wage and Hours Structure," JPE 77 (1969): 249-73; Albert Rees, "An Overview of the Labor-Supply Results," Journal of Human Resources 9 (1974): 158-80; Edward Kalachek, Wesley Mellow, and Frederic Raines, "The Male Labor Supply Function Reconsidered," Industrial and Labor Relations Review 31 (1978): 356-67. For the most complete overview of the Western literature, see John Pencavel, "Labor Supply of Men: A Survey," Handbook of Labor Economics, Vol. I, eds. Orley Ashenfelter and Richard Layard (Amsterdam: North, 1986) 3-102. See also frequent observations in early literature on scientific management and industrial relations, e.g., John R. Commons, Labor and Administration (1913; New York: Kelley, 1964) 138. On cross-cultural measures of the elasticity of labor supply, see Charles P. Kindleberger, Economic Development, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw, 1965) 6; Gordon C. Winston, "An International Comparison of Income and Hours of Work," Review of Economics

and Statistics 48 (1966): 28-39; Howard N. Barnum and Lyn Squire, A Model of an Agricultural Household: Theory and Evidence (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1979) 9-12, 15-6, 81-2; Julian L. Simon, The Economics of Population Growth (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977) 58-61, 134; Mark R. Rosenzweig, "Neoclassical Theory and the Optimizing Peasant: An Econometric Analysis of Market Family Labor Supply in a Developing Country," Quarterly Journal of Economics 94 (1980): 49-54; Inderjit Singh, Lyn Squire, and John Strauss, eds., Agricultural Household Models: Extensions, Applications, and Policy (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1986) 25-7. For an overview of the numerous observations of a general backward-sloping curve in less developed nations, see W. Moore, Industrialization 35-40. For contradictory evidence on female labor supply in Western countries, see Paul W. Miller, "Female Labour Supply in Australia: Another Example of a Backward-Bending Labour Supply Curve," Economics Letters 19 (1985): 287-90; Mark R. Killingsworth and James J. Heckman, "Female Labor Supply: A Survey," Handbook of Labor Economics, Vol. I, eds. Orley Ashenfelter and Richard Layard (Amsterdam: North, 1986) 103-204. Although the average work week in the United State since World War II has remained basically constant while real wages have risen, non-work time over the entire life cycle has increased with longer vacations, more years of schooling before work, and earlier retirements. See Fred Best and James D. Wright, "Effects of Work Scheduling on Time-Income Tradeoffs," Social Forces 57 (1978): 136-53.

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15. Albert O. Hirschman, "A Dissenter's Confession: 'The Strategy of Economic Development' Revisited," Pioneers in Development, eds. Gerald M. Meier and Dudley Seers (New York: Oxford UP, 1984) 94-5. It is indeed curious that in his important work on the history of economic ideas Hirschman did not seek to unearth the history of his own ideas. See Chapter 2.

16. For modern examples of the maxim "Necessity is the mother of invention" in the sense of relative poverty, see Brentano 51; William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway



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18. Historians have not been immune to such a synthesis. Indeed, McCusker and Menard themselves, citing the work of Boserup and Julian Simon, outline a population pressure framework (albeit to criticize a more narrow Malthusian-frontier framework)--in which migration, agricultural intensification, fertility control, and non-agricultural diversification comprise "a complex of responses as people tried to maintain acceptable standards of living when a growing population pushed against the local supply of land"--but fail to develop the framework any further leaving it as "a major challenge" for those historians who focus on "the local demographic process." See McCusker and Menard 34, 256-7, 305-6.

19. What follows is a highly schematic analysis of the evolution of the modern social sciences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries based on a wide-ranging but hardly complete exploration into the relevant literature including the works of Thomas Robert Malthus, Karl Marx, Max Weber, Alfred Marshall, Werner Sombart, Thorstein Veblen, and numerous other nineteenth- and twentieth-century social scientists and their commentators. Among the general secondary works that inform this analysis (although not always in agreement), see Harry Elmer Barnes, The New History and the Social Studies (New York: Century, 1925); Pitirim Sorokin, Modern Sociological Theories (New York: Harper, 1928); Edmund Whittaker, A History of Economic Ideas (New York: Longmans, 1940); Harry Elmer Barnes, ed., An Introduction to the History of Sociology (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1948); Harry Elmer Barnes, ed., An Introduction to the History of Sociology (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1948); Arthur O. Lovejoy, Essays in the History of Ideas (1948; New York: Capricorn, 1960); Edward N. Saveth, American Historians and European Immigrants 1875-1925 (1948; New York: Russell,

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20. Karl Marx, The Letters of Karl Marx, trans. Saul K. Padover (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1979) 157.

21. Karl Marx, Capital: A Critique of Political Economy, Vol. I, trans. Ben Fowkes (New York: Vintage, 1977) 381.

22. Marx, Capital 476. Cf. Marx, Capital 477, 648-51, 921.



23. Weber, Protestant Ethic 54-5. See also Weber, Protestant Ethic 17, 67-9, 72, 181, 282n108; Gudmund Hernes, "The Logic of The Protestant Ethic," Rationality and Society 1 (1989): 151-3.

24. Weber, Protestant Ethic 70-1, 181-2.

25. Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (Boston: Houghton, 1973); Arthur K. Davis, "Veblen on the Decline of the Protestant Ethic," Social Forces 22 (1944): 282-6; Louis Schneider, The Freudian Psychology and Veblen's Social Theory (Morningside Heights, NY: King's Crown, 1948) 186-8. Cf. Marx, Capital 740-1. See the classic statement of American exceptionalism in Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt, Consumption in Our Society (New York: McGraw, 1938) 268, 299-300.

26. Alfred Marshall, Principles of Economics, 8th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1920) 528. See also James O'Connor, "Smith and Marshall on the Individual's Supply of Labor: A Note," Industrial and Labor Relations Review 14 (1961): 273-6; David Reisman, The Economics of Alfred Marshall (New York: St. Martin's, 1986) 206-11. On Marshall's great influence on economics, see Joseph A. Schumpeter, "Alfred Marshall's Principles: A Semi-Centennial Appraisal," AER 31 (1941): 243-4; G. F. Shove, "The Place of Marshall's Principles in the Development of Economic Theory" Economic Journal 52 (1942): 313-4; George J. Stigler, "The Place of Marshall's Principles in the Development of Economics," Centenary Essays on Alfred Marshall, ed. John K. Whitaker (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 1-13.

27. J. K. Whitaker, ed., The Early Economic Writings of Alfred Marshall, 1867-1890 (New York: Free, 1975) 124n17; A. N. M. Mahmood, "The Concept of Constant Marginal Utility of Money in Marshall's Economic Analysis," Alfred Marshall: Critical Assessments, 4 vols., ed. John Cunningham Wood (London: Croom Helm, 1982) 215-22.

28. Stigler, Theory 189.

29. Dean C. Tipps, "Modernization Theory and the Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical Perspective," CSSH 15 (1973): 199-226; Joyce Appleby, "Modernization Theory and the Formation of Modern Social Theories in England and America," CSSH 20 (1978): 259-60; M. Francis Abraham, Perspectives on Modernization: Toward a General Theory of Third World Development (Washington: UP of America, 1980) 8-10, 59-107; Dwight Hoover, "The Long Ordeal of Modernization Theory," Prospects 11 (1986): 407-51.

30. On racialism, see Chapter 1, nn. 14, 20, 51.

31. On the pervasive influence of modernization theory on American historians, see Appleby, "Modernization" 259-61; Hoover 416-44.

## APPENDIX I MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

This dissertation employs multiple regression analysis described in any standard statistics textbook. All models are expressed in the form of the algebraic equation:

$$Y = a_0 + a_1 * X_1 + a_2 * X_2 + \dots + a_k * X_k + u$$

where,

Y is the dependent variable (variable to be explained) on the left-hand side of the equation

$X_1, \dots, X_k$  are the independent or explanatory variables on the right-hand side of the equation, where k represents the number of such variables

$a_0$  is a constant coefficient (similar to the y-intercept in a simple algebraic equation)

$a_1, \dots, a_k$  are the coefficients of the independent variables

u is the error term

Multiple regression analysis determines the coefficients  $a_0, \dots, a_k$  which provide the "best fit" upon inserting sets of data into the equations. Since the data involved in multiple regression analysis in this dissertation is annual

time-series data, the "set of data" is that unique combination of dependent and independent variables which occur in any particular year, say 1696. "N" represents the number of sets of data under observation.

Since the calculated set of coefficients  $a_0, \dots, a_k$  is only a "best fit," any particular set of data will rarely fit the equation perfectly so an error term  $u$ , which can be either positive or negative and differs for each set of data, is included in the equation.

The multiple regression results (whether presented in equations or tables) list the values of the calculated coefficients  $a_0, \dots, a_k$ , and list the  $t$ -statistics either in the right-hand column (Tables I, III, and IV) or in parentheses underneath each coefficient (Table II). A "t-statistic" is the measure of confidence that the listed coefficient is not merely random (i.e., is significantly different than zero), and is calculated by dividing the coefficient by the standard deviation of the coefficient. For most analyses presented here,  $t$ -statistics of around 2 or greater indicate that there is statistically less than a 5% chance that the coefficient is purely random. Lower  $t$ -statistics indicate a much greater chance of randomness and 5% is considered by most econometricians the maximum degree of chance acceptable when assessing statistical significance. Coefficients that have less than a 5% chance of being random and are thus statistically significant at



the 5% level of significance are specially indicated by an \*. Where t-statistics are listed in parentheses under each coefficient (as in Table II), they are presented as absolute values (without + or - signs) simply for ease of reading, because the t-statistic will always have the same sign as the coefficient.

A measure commonly presented in econometric analyses is the  $R^2$  statistic, which is a measure of the fraction of variation in the dependent variable that is explained by the regression. Normally the higher the  $R^2$  the better the model, but the  $R^2$  statistic can be quite deceiving and is not sufficient for judging the statistical significance of any particular model because it depends heavily on the type of model and data being tested. A model that uses a lot of individual-level data and has an  $R^2$  of 0.15 may be much better than a model that uses aggregate-level data and has an  $R^2$  of 0.90. A model that has many independent variables relative to N (such as Table III) can also have a very high  $R^2$  compared to a model which has fewer independent variables relative to N (such as Table IV). However, when comparing two similar models using the same data,  $R^2$  provides a quick check of which model is best.

Because we are dealing with time-series data which often tends to be cyclical in nature, one of the most important statistics in every table presented is the "Durbin-Watson" or "D.W." statistic. A major assumption of multiple

regression analysis is that the error term ( $u$ ) for any set of data should be random. For annual time-series data, however, this year's error term is often related to last year's error term. For example, if last year's prediction was high, then this year's prediction might tend to be high. If the model tends to overpredict for a few years and then underpredict for a few years, this is called positive autocorrelation which is the most common problem in normal time-series data. If the model bounces back and forth every year between overprediction and underprediction, this is called negative autocorrelation which is much less common. Autocorrelation could be due to problems either with the model (model specification error) or with the data (error specification error) and there are statistical ways to test for and correct this.

The Durbin-Watson coefficient is a measure of autocorrelation on a scale of 0 to 4 with 0 (perfect positive autocorrelation), 2 (no autocorrelation) and 4 (perfect negative autocorrelation). As with  $t$ -statistics, we are interested in when the odds of autocorrelation being problematic have less than a 5% chance of being random. This depends heavily on the length of the time series and the number of independent variables in the model. For the models and data examined in this dissertation, there was no statistically significant positive or negative autocorrelation.

APPENDIX II  
AN ANALYSIS OF CHESAPEAKE TOBACCO PRICES

Historian Russell R. Menard, who has done yeoman's service in analyzing both actual price movements--determined primarily by an analysis of prices in Maryland probate records--and contemporaneous reactions to those movements, has found a close positive correspondence between the two in a pattern of alternating "booms" and "busts" in the tobacco economy.<sup>1</sup> But his analysis of opinions about tobacco prices is far from conclusive since he dismisses numerous complaints of poverty (and ignores the almost complete lack of positive statements) during his booms.<sup>2</sup> Other historians based on the same evidence have created quite different scenarios; indeed, one historian's bust can quite literally be another historian's boom.<sup>3</sup> Although strong empirical support for Menard's price series in the 1680s can be found in the letterbooks of William Fitzhugh and William Byrd I--where their regular comments on the tobacco economy closely match the ups and downs of Menard's series--unfortunately we have no similar source for other years.<sup>4</sup>

Since we have few objective measures of "perceived" necessity and since there is no better tobacco price series available, Menard's price series proves the best available

basis for modeling "actual" necessity for testing hypotheses about planter behavior, leaving the relationship between perceived and actual necessity unspecified for the time being.<sup>5</sup> Yet historians have reasonably questioned whether Maryland prices are appropriate for an analysis of Virginia--in particular whether a price series based on Maryland low-quality, oronoco tobacco grown for a Continental market is applicable to Virginia where higher quality and sweetscented tobacco was grown for a restricted English market.<sup>6</sup>

Although there were undoubtedly intraregional differences in price, one can make a fairly good case for the belief that the Maryland series well capture aggregate market changes across the Chesapeake. For example, one might note that, although it is difficult to judge exactly how large a region in the Chesapeake was devoted to sweetscented or how much of total Chesapeake production was sweetscented, what evidence there is suggests the relatively small size of sweetscented to overall tobacco production. Traditionally scholars have suggested that sweetscented was restricted because it required a particular soil found only on the two peninsulas between the James and the Rappanhannock Rivers, although others believe the soil was not restricted to certain peninsulas but rather "the banks of the great rivers, the James, York, Rappanhannock, and Potomac."<sup>7</sup> Based on the contemporary (circa 1700) estimate that only a third of



Virginia production was sweetscented, combined with estimates that Virginia's tithable population comprised two-thirds of the Chesapeake total and Virginia tobacco productivity was half of Maryland's (due to Maryland's preference for quantity over quality), we would estimate that sweetscented tobacco made up only a sixth of total Chesapeake tobacco production.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore, one might make a case for the interdependence of markets for different grades and varieties of tobacco on both sides of the Atlantic. Although there is a universal consensus that before the 1720s sweetscented earned a higher price, there is little evidence to suggest that prices for the two varieties followed different tracks. Planters did regularly make the distinction between oronoco and sweetscented on their hogsheads and "tobacco notes" and in their ship manifests and correspondence and, when consigning their tobacco to European factors, did sometimes remark on distinct oronoco and sweetscented markets. But rarely in their laments over tobacco did planters note that farm prices for one type of tobacco were prospering at the expense of the other.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, in the mid-1680s, the clear correspondence between Menard's price series and comments by William Fitzhugh and William Byrd I on the relatively high tobacco prices in 1685 and 1686 suggests similar price fluctuations across the Chesapeake.<sup>10</sup> The meager statistical evidence available on trends in Virginia sweetscented

and European tobacco prices supports this conclusion.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps rather than thinking in terms of two distinct markets--oronoco and sweetscented--we might better conceptualize the Chesapeake tobacco supply as a continuum of tobacco varieties or grades, dependent on many factors including soil, rainfall, temperature, expertise, honesty, and good fortune in tending, curing, and packing.<sup>12</sup>

A quantity-quality continuum hardly suggests two distinct markets: English demand for higher quality, sweet-scented Virginia tobacco and Continental demand for lower quality, oronoco Maryland tobacco. Instead, markets in England and the Continent existed for--and merchants in Virginia, except perhaps in years of the worst gluts, were known to purchase--every kind of tobacco produced in the Chesapeake from the worst trash to the choicest grades.<sup>13</sup> In 1735 a London merchant noted on sweetscented that "there is but little of this sort used in proportion to to the whole Consumption, and the Tobacconists find among the common Tobacco...some as good as the most celebrated crops." Eighteenth-century merchants substituted oronoco for sweet-scented with little complaint.<sup>14</sup> Throughout the seventeenth century, planters and merchants on both sides of the Atlantic alternately complained about or defended the competition from lower-quality tobacco, which, whether legal or illegal, Englishmen seemed to consume in great quantities.<sup>15</sup> Indeed, if the Maryland and Virginia markets were really so

distinct and demand for Virginia tobacco was so specialized, one would wonder why Virginians constantly abandoned efforts to restrict tobacco production because of Maryland's refusal to cooperate.<sup>16</sup>

In their tobacco consumption Englishmen were no different from other Europeans who may have preferred a particular variety or grade for whatever reason but in weighing price against quality showed an acceptance of a wide range of tobacco quality.<sup>17</sup> While the English market perhaps showed a preference for higher grades of tobacco, neither in England nor the continent were the markets for different grades completely independent. Perhaps more accurate is Jerome Brooks's conclusion that, in the eighteenth century, "the only Anglo-American planters unaffected by foreign competition were the specialists in the finer types of Virginia 'sweet scented' and producers of the best grades of 'Oronoko' from Maryland," undoubtedly a minority of both planters and tobacco production.<sup>18</sup>

### Notes

1. Russell R. Menard, "The Tobacco Industry in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1617-1730: An Interpretation," Research in Economic History 5 (1980): 115-6, 123-4.

2. See, e.g., Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 128-42, esp. 134-5.

3. For various interpretations of the early price history of tobacco, see Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, 2 vols. (1895; New York: Peter Smith, 1935); Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, The Shaping of Colonial Virginia

(1910; New York: Russell, 1958) 144-5, 186-96; Avery Odelle Craven, Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860 (Urbana: U of Illinois, 1926) 46-56; Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Life and Labor in the Old South (1929; Boston: Little, 1946) 28; L. C. Gray, "The Market Surplus Problems of Colonial Tobacco," Agricultural History 2 (1928): 3-4; Lewis Cecil Gray, History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860, 2 vols. (1933; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1958) 1: 259-75; Vertrees J. Wyckoff, Tobacco Regulation in Colonial Maryland (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 1936); Jerome E. Brooks, The Mighty Leaf: Tobacco Through the Centuries (Boston: Little, 1952) 110-4; Arthur Pierce Middleton, Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era (Newport News, VA: Mariners' Museum, 1953) 93-132, 134-5; Wesley Frank Craven, White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1971) 21; Russell R. Menard, "Farm Prices of Maryland Tobacco, 1659-1710," Maryland Historical Magazine 68 (1973): 80-2; Russell R. Menard, "Immigration to the Chesapeake Colonies in the Seventeenth Century: A Review Essay," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 30 (1973): 324-5; John C. Rainbolt, From Prescription To Persuasion: Manipulation of Eighteenth [Seventeenth] Century Virginia Economy (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1974) 18, 26-7, 56, 122, 130, 156; Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: Norton, 1975) 135, 135-6n7, 186, 203-4; Carville V. Earle, The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650-1783 (Chicago: U of Chicago, Dept. of Geography, 1975) 17-8; Allan Kulikoff, "The Colonial Chesapeake: Seedbed of Antebellum Southern Culture?," Journal of Southern History 45 (1979): 515-7, 525-6; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 134-7, 150-2; Paul G. E. Clemens, The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore: From Tobacco to Grain (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1980) 29-40, 98-9; Aubrey C. Land, Colonial Maryland: A History (Millwood, NY: KTO, 1981) 68-72, 102-3; Gloria L. Main, Tobacco Colony: Life in Early Maryland, 1650-1720 (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982) 16-8; Russell R. Menard, Lois Green Carr, and Lorena S. Walsh, "A Small Planter's Profits: The Cole Estate and the Growth of the Early Chesapeake Economy," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 40 (1983): 191; Russell R. Menard, Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland (New York: Garland, 1985) 155-6, 208-33; Allan Kulikoff, Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1986) 79-80; Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, Colonial Virginia: A History (White Plains, NY: KTO, 1986) 68; David T. Courtwright, "Fifty Years of American History: An Interview with Edmund S. Morgan," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd ser. 44 (1987): 358; Jack P. Greene, Pursuits of Happiness: The



Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988) 13.

4. See William Fitzhugh, William Fitzhugh and his Chesapeake World 1676-1701: The Fitzhugh Letters and Other Documents, ed. Richard Beale Davis (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1963) 83, 86, 125, 138-9, 161, 166, 193, 204, 214, 220-1, 225-6, 229-30, 239, 256-7; William Byrd, The Correspondence of The Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia 1684-1776, 2 vols., ed. Marion Tinling (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1977) 1: 24, 30-1, 48, 67; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 138-9.

5. Menard, "Farm Prices" 80-5; Russell R. Menard, "A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 84 (1976): 401-10; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 110-3, 157-61, 163; Menard, Economy 439-51.

6. Menard, "Farm Prices" 84n17; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Explicatus (New York: Norton, 1984) 3-7; Anita H. Rutman, "Still Planting the Seeds of Hope: The Recent Literature of the Early Chesapeake Region," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 95 (1987): 6. For contemporary observations of the distinction, see Bruce, Economic History 1: 435-42; Brooks 165; Middleton 97-101, 115-7, 123, 127-9, 377n21.

7. Middleton 97. Fitzhugh stressed it was possible to grow sweetscented on the Northern Neck although he recognized his product was of a lower quality than York sweetscented.

8. See Middleton 117.

9. Fitzhugh, when consigning his tobacco during the war years of the 1690s, often spoke of distinct oronoco and sweetscented markets whose prices could be moving in opposite directions. However, overall these price movements appeared fairly random, dependent on particular tobacco quality, merchants, and ports rather than general price trends and his long-run decision to concentrate on sweetscented depended on the more certain advantages of the greater density of sweetscented that would help reduce shipping charges and spoilage. See, e.g., Fitzhugh 87n, 257, 322-3, 331, 338, 340, 357-8. Cf. Susan E. Hillier, "The Trade of the Virginia Colony 1606 to 1660," diss., U of Liverpool, 1971, 280. More importantly, when speaking of tobacco in general in the Chesapeake, Fitzhugh regularly failed to make any distinction between oronoco and sweetscented. See Fitzhugh 126, 214, 220-1. The question arises to what degree the distinction between the two markets only

affected consigning planters who were never more than a minority in the late seventeenth century.

10. See Fitzhugh 166, 193, 220-1; Byrd 1: 30-1, 48, 67; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 138. Suggestions by the Rutmans that sweetscented and oronoco prices diverged in the 1680s lack qualitative and quantitative foundation, resting on insufficient observations of sweetscented prices. See Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus 5-6; A. Rutman, "Still Planting" 6.

11. Comparing Menard's oronoco farm series with a series of sweetscented farm prices for the years 1659-1707 drawn from York County (raw data provided by Lorena S. Walsh) and Middlesex County (raw data provided by the Rutmans), along with Dutch prices for Virginia tobacco for the same years developed by Jacob M. Price, Menard's series explains far more of the variance of sweetscented farm prices (29.9%) than Dutch prices (10.3%) with sweetscented prices rising or falling about 1.2 penny for every penny rise or fall in the oronoco price, although the data on sweetscented prices hardly prove sufficient in number to generate a reliable time series. A multiple regression analysis yields the results:

$$\text{SSPRC} = -4.850 + 1.201^* \text{TOBPRC} - 0.077 \text{WAR} + 0.003 \text{YEAR}$$

$$(0.6) \quad (4.3) \quad (0.9) \quad (0.7)$$

$$R^2 = 0.453 \quad \text{D.W.} = 1.548 \quad N=48$$

and

$$\text{DUTCHVA} = -3.013^* + 0.152 \text{TOBPRC} + 0.032 \text{WAR} + 0.003^* \text{YEAR}$$

$$(3.0) \quad (1.9) \quad (1.5) \quad (3.1)$$

$$R^2 = 0.365 \quad \text{D.W.} = 0.942^* \quad N=34$$

where

SSPRC = farm price of Virginia sweetscented tobacco  
(pence sterling per lb.)

DUTCHVA = price of Virginia tobacco in Amsterdam  
(guilders per Dutch lb.)

TOBPRC = farm price of Maryland oronoco tobacco  
(pence sterling per lb.)

WAR = 1, if war disrupted Atlantic trade over the course  
of the market year

= 0, if otherwise

YEAR = annual time trend

\* denotes statistical significance at the 5% level of  
significance

Note: Absolute value of t-statistics are in parentheses. See further Appendix I.

For Dutch prices, see Jacob M. Price, France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and of Its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades, 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1973) 2: 852. On war years, see Ralph Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London: Macmillan, 1962) 133-58. This evidence suggests that Jacob M. Price, the leading student on European tobacco markets, who has traditionally stressed that farm prices closely followed metropolitan prices (at least in peacetime), has perhaps overplayed the impact of divergent English and Continental price trends on the Chesapeake economy. See Jacob M. Price, The Tobacco Adventure to Russia: Enterprise, Politics, and Diplomacy in the Quest for a Northern Market for English Colonial Tobacco, 1676-1722 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1961) 9, 16, 87; Jacob M. Price, Perry of London: A Family and a Firm on the Seaborne Frontier, 1615-1753 (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992) 49. Cf. Main, Tobacco Colony 23.

12. See, e.g., John Clayton, The Reverend John Clayton: A Parson with a Scientific Mind, eds. Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Berkeley (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1965) 59-63; Gray, History 1: 218; Middleton 97-8, 128-9; Melvin Herndon, Tobacco in Colonial Virginia: 'The Sovereign Remedy' (Williamsburg, VA; Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957) 19-22; Hillier 280; Menard, "Farm Prices" 82; Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 112; Main, Tobacco Colony 35. For example, Fitzhugh recognized that York sweetscented was a higher quality and thus drew a higher price than his own sweetscented. See Fitzhugh 357-9. The Rutmans, Edmund S. Morgan, and Gloria L. Main, and other historians have suggested that it seems far better to envision a single tobacco production system incorporating a continuum of quantity-quality calculations rather than two distinct sets of planters and strategies. See Morgan, American Slavery 302; Main, Tobacco Colony 35-6; Darrett B. Rutman and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia 1650-1750 (New York: Norton, 1984) 41; Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus 14. Cf. Middleton 112, 120. The difference in the Middlesex and Maryland strategies are well reflected in the substantially lower productivity in Maryland after the Maryland assembly legally prohibited trash and seconds. See Earle 25-6; Rutman and Rutman, Explicatus 12-20. A strategic quantity-quality balance is further suggested by the numerous complaints in Virginia of the cultivation of trash tobacco for payments of taxes, tithes, and debts. See Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia, 2 vols., Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1960) 2: 423.



13. See, e.g., William Waller Hening, ed., The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809-23) 1: 488, 524; 2: 224; 3: 33-5; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1659/60-1693 (Richmond, n.p., 1914) 322-3; Gray, "Market Surplus" 12. William Byrd I often spoke of tobacco of his own and others as "good" or "bad" when referring to its quality, but never suggested that "bad" tobacco was unmarketable. In seeking to consign only the best tobacco to the tobacco merchants Perry & Lane in 1689 he noted: "I am very confident you will find much very bad tobacco for to gett about 80 or 90 hogsheads I have been forced to looke over near 400 and I fear some of this not extraordinary. Abundance of tobacco rotten, of which I believe Mr. Paggen [another merchant] hath a large share." See Byrd 1: 105. See also Byrd 1: 29, 66, 87-8, 97, 107; Fitzhugh 357. Most of the top English tobacco firms in the late seventeenth century, although specializing in either Maryland or Virginia trade, sold locally as well as re-exported to the continent. See Byrd 1: 29, 67; C. M. MacInnes, The Early English Tobacco Trade (London: Kegan Paul, 1926) 60-1, 188; Gray, History 1: 253; N. C. P. Tyack, "The Trade Relations of Bristol with Virginia during the 17th Century," Master's Thesis, Bristol U, 1930, 26; Middleton 126; Price, Tobacco 5-9, 88-9; Rainbolt 130-1; Clemens, Atlantic Economy 37; Main, Tobacco Colony 22; Price, Perry 45-6, 159n71-3. London price-currents often carried prices for a dozen grades and varieties of Chesapeake tobacco. See Menard, "Tobacco Industry" 167n2.

14. Middleton 98-9.

15. On domestic production, see George Louis Beer, The Origins of the British Colonial System 1578-1660 (1908; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1959) 112-6, 146-7, 165-8, 190-1, 403-8; George Louis Beer, The Old Colonial System 1660-1754, 2 vols. (1913; Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1958) 1: 138-46; MacInnes 75-129, 153-63; Gray, "Market Surplus" 8-9; Brooks 115-20; Neville Williams, "England's Tobacco Trade in the Reign of Charles I," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 65 (1957): 408; A. R. Williams, "The Gloucestershire Tobacco Trade," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 79 (1971): 145-52; K. G. Davies, The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1974) 148. On bulk tobacco, see McIlwaine, JHB 1659/60-1693 322-3; Middleton 118-20, 383-4n120. If, in the early seventeenth century, tobaccoists illicitly attempted to market Virginian tobacco by blending with Spanish tobacco and labeling it the "new Spanish," by the late seventeenth century "counterfeiters" went so far as to sell as Virginia tobacco "worthless stalks, and leaves of the forests, mixed



with dyer's liquor, starch, spike, and oil. The leaf itself was sophisticated by the addition of coal dust or whatever else seemed suitable. The general price of tobacco in a reliable shop was twelve pence the pound then, but the artificial product brought a third to a half that price." "Treating" tobacco in England was so notorious throughout the seventeenth century that, "when it became more profitable, as was often the case, for English importers to export tobacco than to retain it for home consumption the unadulterated product was actually scarce in the major cities of England." See Brooks 92. See also MacInnes 63-74; Alfred Rive, "The Consumption of Tobacco since 1600," Economic History 1 (1926): 69-70; Brooks 54, 91-2, 104, 172; Morton 2: 511. Indeed, one might conclude that the entire opinion that Englishmen demanded the highest quality tobacco was the result of contemporary propaganda against English domestic production in the same way that earlier merchants had argued against attempts to prohibit importation of higher-quality Spanish tobacco and the Virginia Company had sought to justify shipping lower-quality Virginia tobacco to markets outside England. Based on the estimate that, circa 1700, approximately a third of tobacco imports were retained and a sixth of total imports were sweetscented, this suggests as much oronoco as sweetscented was consumed in England even if no sweetscented was re-exported.

16. See Chapter 3. Cf. Brooks 101; Rainbolt 56. On the other hand, one might wonder to what extent did the instigators of the tobacco cutting riots in 1682 purposefully choose only the sweetscented regions for destruction based on a recognition of distinct markets. See Bruce, Economic History 1: 406.

17. See, e.g., Brooks 104, 152; Middleton 127-9; Price, Tobacco 7-10, 52, 63, 89-90, 93-4.

18. See Brooks 156.

### APPENDIX III TOWARD A NECESSITY SYNTHESIS

Here we can do little more than hint at what a "necessity synthesis of political economy"--built around the classical concept of "necessity" or "relative poverty" as the central element in human motivation--would look like.<sup>1</sup> One can readily identify scholars working within the necessity framework through particular keywords (for example, necessity, coping, deprivation, pressure, stress); key citations (for example, to Ester Boserup, Alexander Chayanov); the types of causes (for example, declining real income, diminishing per capita resources, absolute or relative poverty); and the types and direction of responses. Although works may and should recognize how the pull of opportunity affects the particular response, priority is always clearly given to the push of necessity. Furthermore, the relationship between cause and response is to some degree reversible. Like the backward-sloping supply curve, a rise and a fall in real income produce opposite effects.<sup>2</sup> But what in practice clearly stands out is the regularity of the types of interdependent responses to relative and absolute poverty that scholars continue to identify across time, space, and culture, so regular that one might say a necessity school of

thought exists even if the participants are not fully aware of the similarities between their works.

When discussing contemporaneous problems of political economy or searching for broader theoretical statements, necessity from the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century often assumed the language of efforts to bring an actual "level of living" in line with a relative or culturally-determined "standard of living."<sup>3</sup> After World War II, this terminology shifted as level/standard of living gave way to various "relative" hypotheses and theories (for example, relative income, relative economic status, relative deprivation) scattered through the social sciences.<sup>4</sup> All of these theories share much in common.<sup>5</sup> Basically all involve the notion of a "negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and anticipated actuality" which spurs the individual or group to take action to reduce that discrepancy.<sup>6</sup> This idea lies at the heart of "relative deprivation theory"--by far and away the most popular of these theories, employed by sociologists, economists, political scientists, anthropologists, and social psychologists alike--but with obvious parallels to a diverse number of social psychological concepts like reference group theory, adaptation level theory, Gerhard Lenski's "status inconsistency", George Homan's "distributive justice", Leon Festinger's "social comparison" and "cognitive dissonance", John Adams's "equity", Kurt Lewin's "level of aspiration", John

Dollard's "frustration-aggression," Emile Durkheim's "anomie", "status anxiety," Thomas Pettigrew's "social evaluation," Thibaut and Kelly's "comparison level," and Alex Michalos's "multiple discrepancy."<sup>7</sup>

While these social scientists have been rooting the necessity concept in social psychological theory, behavioral economists and economic psychologists have independently been building a cognitive psychological model of necessity in their critiques of neo-classical economic theory. Attacking the neo-classical assumption of a universal maximizing man, these approaches have converged on ideas about attitudes toward effort and risk/uncertainty applicable to peasant farmers and modern firms alike. The most important concepts include: Herbert A. Simon's "satisficing," which Jon Elster has translated as "Necessity is the mother of invention"; Harvey Leibenstein's "X-efficiency," which rests on the premise that "pressure, from whatever source, will result in a movement toward procedures closer to maximization"; and most recently Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky's highly influential "prospect theory," founded on the idea that individuals have a "risk aversion" for gains (i.e., will avoid risks in the pursuit of gains) and a "risk preference" for losses (i.e., will take risks to avoid losses).<sup>8</sup>

Although the social and cognitive psychological approaches have up to the present shown little tendency to



overlap, the approaches converge in a common emphasis on the role of deviation from some target, reference point, or aspiration level on attitudes and responses. This deviation creates in one direction a condition of necessity, deprivation, tension, deficiency, pressure, or stress that promotes increased effort and risk-taking; and in the opposite direction, ease, relaxation, satisfaction, sufficiency, competency, feeling of well-being that encourages decreased effort and risk-taking.<sup>9</sup> When the aspiration level or target is conceived, as it frequently is, as current or customary wealth or a standard of living then the two approaches converge even more strongly.<sup>10</sup>

At a more macro level, both environmentalist and population pressure interpretations of social evolution--following the seminal work of Thomas Robert Malthus, August Comte, and Herbert Spencer--have continued strong among Western scholars into the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> William Graham Sumner captured this view as well as anybody: "Nothing has ever made men spread over the earth and develop the arts but necessity--that is, the need of getting a living, and the hardships endured in trying to meet that need" kept up by population pressure, but only "in the middle range, with enough social pressure to make energy needful, and not enough social pressure to produce despair."<sup>12</sup> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as Pitirim Sorokin noted in his thorough overview of the literature in 1927,

this "demographic school" dominated interpretations of societal evolution with their thesis that,

as the density of a population increases, in order to subsist it must either improve its methods for the production of necessities, make their distribution more equal, get an additional means of subsistence through the military plundering of other societies, migrate to some other less populated countries, or, if these outcomes fail to be realized, then the population must decrease its birth rate or increase its death rate, in order to reduce its density.<sup>13</sup>

In applying necessity to problems of contemporaneous political economy, these scholars offered divergent solutions ranging from the need to promote the "artificial" necessity of highly interventionist state programs to the "natural" necessity of the market, the only difference often being whether they believed the state or the market the more effective necessitating agent.<sup>14</sup> This approach was given a boost more recently by the highly influential work of Ester Boserup--stressing the positive link between population pressure and agricultural intensification--which social scientists in various disciplines have applied to societies from prehistory to the present.<sup>15</sup>

Within this necessity framework, scholars have argued over the priority of demographic and environmental factors in societal evolution. Although classical environmentalist distinctions with their overtly racist connotations have gradually faded, debates still continue over whether population pressure or environmental change was the key factor in driving forward the process of societal evolution, and whe-

ther population pressure was sufficient or whether circumscription (either physical or sociopolitical) was required as well.<sup>16</sup>

Others scholars have subsumed necessity within overarching theories employing terms such as "disturbance," "crisis", "catastrophe," "distress," "task," "calamity," and--the most popular and general--Arnold Toynbee's "challenge."<sup>17</sup> The continuity of all these traditions well into the mid-twentieth century among certain European scholars was noted by the authors of the United Nations's The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends (1953):

Demographic necessity is thus thought of as the mother of invention; or, after the manner of Toynbee, a demographic challenge will produce a corresponding effort to increase output. They thus continue in the tradition of Malthus, who viewed the principle of population 'as the essential motive force behind social progress.'<sup>18</sup>

Paralleling these evolutionary theories, other social scientists have independently extended similar insights to the behavior of smaller decision-making units--whether individual, family, household, or community--stressing a focus on "coping strategies" to environmental (physical and/or social) pressure including natural disaster and famine, family life cycle changes, lower staple prices, and class exploitation. These approaches emphasize the tremendous variety of responses that households make cross-culturally to encroachments on their livelihood, the result of a

complex decision-making process balancing production and consumption, effort and leisure, risk and security.

The most famous of these approaches, since its rediscovery in the 1960s, is Alexander Chayanov's critique of neo-classical economics with its central thesis: "other things being equal, the peasant worker, stimulated to work by the demands of his family, develops greater energy as the pressure of these demands becomes stronger," with pressure generally translated as increasing numbers of mouths to feed. Elsewhere he notes, "'Due to necessity,' the peasant initiates what are, at first sight, the most disadvantageous undertakings."<sup>19</sup> Although Chayanov explicitly restricted application of his theory to family labor households and pre-capitalist societies, both microeconomic and cross-cultural macroeconomic research have convincingly shown that, *ceteris paribus*, higher levels of fertility and population increase lead to longer hours of work regardless of the "capitalistic" nature of the economy.<sup>20</sup>

Studies of household and community responses to famine and other disasters, whether drawing explicitly on Chayanov or not, have shown similar results, revealing little difference between "absolute" and "relative" levels of necessity in the types and direction of responses.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, some scholars have noted that all societies employ cultural indicators or deviations from cultural standards (for example, declining resource variety, increasing work loads,



intensifying competition) to warn of impending stress well ahead of physiological standards and to activate response strategies (for example, production intensification, fertility control, migration).<sup>22</sup> Similar studies concentrate on how peasants and family farmers survive in the age of capitalism and the coping strategies of the urban poor in Western and Third World cities.<sup>23</sup>

### Notes

1. For a fuller explication of the synthesis, see Bruce C. Baird, "Toward a Necessity Synthesis of Political Economy," unpublished.

2. Many social scientists share the same blindspot as historians, accepting the notion that necessity could force individuals or communities to adopt some practice, but failing to conceptualize that a reduction of that same necessity could lead to abandonment of the practice, if in the scholars' opinion that practice seemed in line with "progress." Although a case can be made for some "stickiness" in a particular direction or even an imperfect "ratchet," often rejection of reversibility represents nothing more than a "bourgeois bias." On emphasis on reversibility, see D. E. Dumond, "Population Growth and Cultural Change," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 21 (1965): 319-20; E. A. Hammel and Nancy Howell, "Research in Population and Culture: An Evolutionary Framework," Current Anthropology 28 (1987): 144.

3. On the formal distinction between "level" and "standard" of living, see Don D. Lescohier, The Labor Market (New York: Macmillan, 1919) 95; Hazel Kyrk, A Theory of Consumption (Boston: Houghton, 1923) 174; William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller, The Science of Society, 4 vols. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1927) 1: 70-8; Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt, Consumption in Our Society (New York: McGraw, 1938) 265-8; Harold W. Saunders, "A General Theory of Population Pressure," Journal of Business, University of Iowa 24 (1944): 11-15; Joseph S. Davis, "Standards and Content of Living," American Economic Review 35 (1945): 1-15; E. P. Hutchinson, The Population Debate: The Development of Conflicting Theories up to 1900 (Boston: Houghton, 1967) 149n. For examples of nineteenth- and twentieth-century standard-of-living theories in Europe and

America, see William Roscher, Principles of Political Economy, 2 vols., trans. John J. Lalor (Chicago, 1882) 1: 51-4; 2: 43-4, 221-3; Simon N. Patten, The Theory of Dynamic Economics (Philadelphia, 1892) 128-34; Simon N. Patten, The Consumption of Wealth, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania, 1901) 43-52; Thomas Nixon Carver, The Distribution of Wealth (1904; London: Macmillan, 1932) 165-84; Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, Industrial Democracy, 2nd ed. (London: Longmans, 1911) 654-702; A. L. Bowley, The Nature and Purpose of the Measurement of Social Phenomena (London: King, 1915) 149-88; G. P. Watkins, Welfare as an Economic Quantity (Boston: Houghton, 1915) 90-1; Thomas Nixon Carver, Principles of Political Economy (Boston: Ginn, 1919) 393; Alfred Marshall, Principles of Economics, 8th ed. (New Haven: Yale UP, 1920) 688; Kyrk 172-85, 209-11; Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (1899; Boston: Houghton, 1973) 82-3; Sumner and Keller 1: 70-8; Elizabeth Ellis Hoyt, The Consumption of Wealth (New York: Macmillan, 1928) 37-43; Richard T. Ely et al., Outlines of Economics, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1935) 152-4, 428-9; Warren S. Thompson and P.K. Whelpton, "Levels of Living and Population Pressure," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 198 (1938): 93-100; Frank H. Hankins, "Pressure of Population as a Cause of War," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 198 (1938): 101-8; Frank H. Hankins, "Demographic and Biological Contributions to Sociological Principles," Contemporary Social Theory, eds. Harry Elmer Barnes et al. (New York: Appleton, 1940) 288; E. L. Thorndike, Human Nature and the Social Order (New York: Macmillan, 1940) 491; Rudolf Heberle, "Social Factors in Birth Control," American Sociological Review 6 (1941): 794-805; Harold W. Saunders, "Human Migration and Social Equilibrium," Population Theory and Policy: Selected Readings, eds. Joseph J. Spengler and Otis Dudley Duncan (Glencoe: Free, 1956) 219-29; J. A. Banks, Prosperity and Parenthood: A Study of Family Planning among the Victorian Middle Classes (London: Routledge, 1954) 6-7, 218; Ruth Riemer and Clyde V. Kiser, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility," Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly 32 (1954): 167-8; Ivan F. Beutler and Alma J. Owen, "A Home Production Activity Model," Home Economics Research Journal 9 (1980): 16-26. See also Joseph J. Spengler, "Population Doctrines in the United States," Journal of Political Economy 4 (1933): 433-67, 639-72; Hutchinson 401-2; D. E. C. Eversley, Social Theories of Fertility and the Malthusian Debate (1959; Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1975) 224-5.

4. On "relative income," see James S. Duesenberry, Income, Saving and the Theory of Consumer Behavior (1949; Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967). The literature on relative deprivation is so diverse and widesweeping that certainly not all interpretations would fall within a necessity synthesis. For overviews of relative deprivation theory, see W. G. Runciman,

Relative Deprivation and Social Justice (Berkeley: U of California P, 1966) 9-35; David Donald Dabelko, "Relative Deprivation Theory and its Application to the Study of Politics," diss., U of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1971; Robin M. Williams, Jr., "Relative Deprivation," The Idea of Social Structure: Papers in Honor of Robert K. Merton, ed. Lewis A. Coser (New York: Harcourt, 1975) 355-78; Faye Crosby, "A Model of Egoistical Relative Deprivation," Psychological Review 83 (1976): 85-113; Stuart Albert, "Temporal Comparison Theory," Psychological Review 84 (1977): 485-503; Alex C. Michalos, "Multiple Discrepancies Theory (MDT)," Social Indicators Research 16 (1985): 347-413.

5. Richard A. Easterlin, "Relative Economic Status and the American Fertility Swing," Family Economic Behavior: Problems and Prospects, ed. Eleanor Bernert Sheldon (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1973) 181; Reuben Hill and David M. Klein, "Understanding Family Consumption: Common Ground for Integrating Uncommon Disciplinary Perspectives," Family Economic Behavior: Problems and Prospects, ed. Eleanor Bernert Sheldon (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1973) 12; Richard A. Easterlin, "Does Economic Growth Improve the Human Lot? Some Empirical Evidence," Nations and Households in Economic Growth: Essays in Honor of Moses Abramovitz, eds. Paul A. David and Levin W. Reder (New York: Academic, 1974) 112-4; Richard A. Easterlin, "The Conflict between Aspirations and Resources," Population and Development Review 2 (1976): 417; Anisuzzaman Chowdury, "The Decentralized Labor Market and the Nonmarket Consideration of Wage Changes," Journal of Post Keynesian Economics 5 (1983): 648-63.

6. David F. Aberle, The Peyote Religion among the Navaho (New York: Wenner, 1966) 323. Some relative deprivation theorists do not stress the difference between rewards and expectations, but rather the relative position of an individual within a group. Although relative position is undoubtedly an important element in defining necessity, in practice many of these theorists ignore the equally important inelastic temporal nature of necessity. See Dabelko 6.

7. Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, 2nd ed. (Glencoe, IL: Free, 1957) 131-94, 225-80; Martin Patchen, The Choice of Wage Comparisons (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1961) 1-14; Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Social Evaluation Theory: Convergences and Applications," Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1967, ed. David Levine (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1967) 241-311; James A. Geschwender, "Explorations in the Theory of Social Movements and Revolutions," Social Forces 47 (1968): 127-35; Dabelko 20-48; Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, and Willard L. Rodgers, The Quality of American Life: Perceptions, Evaluations, and Satisfaction (New York: Sage, 1976) 8; Crosby, "Model" 85-113; Faye



J. Crosby, Relative Deprivation and Working Women (New York: Oxford UP, 1982) 26-32; Alex Michalos, "Satisfaction and Happiness," Social Indicators Research 8 (1980): 385-422; Barry Markovsky, "Toward a Multilevel Distributive Justice Theory," American Sociological Review 50 (1985): 822-39; Lise Dubé and Serge Guimond, "Relative Deprivation and Social Protest: The Personal-Group Issue," Relative Deprivation and Social Comparison: The Ontario Symposium, Volume 4, eds. James M. Olson, et al. (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1986) 201; James M. Olson and J. Douglas Hazlewood, "Relative Deprivation and Social Comparison: An Integrative Perspective," Relative Deprivation and Social Comparison: The Ontario Symposium, Volume 4, eds. James M. Olson, et al. (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1986) 1-15; Duane F. Alwin, "Distributive Justice and Satisfaction with Material Well-Being," American Sociological Review 52 (1987): 83-95; R. Vermunt, E. Spaans, and F. Zorge, "Satisfaction, Happiness and Well-Being of Dutch Students," Social Indicators Research 21 (1989): 1-33; Alex C. Michalos, Global Report on Student Well-Being, Vol. I (New York: Springer, 1991) 30-65. For political scientists, see Ted Robert Gurr, "A Comparative Study of Civil Strife," The History of Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, eds. Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (New York: Praeger, 1969) 596-603; Dabelko, "Relative Deprivation Theory." For anthropologists, see Aberle 315-33; Dumond, "Political Centralization" 289. For economists see Oded Stark, "Rural-to-Urban Migration in LDCs: A Relative Deprivation Approach," Economic Development and Cultural Change 32 (1984): 475-98; Oded Stark and Shlomo Yitzhaki, "Relative Deprivation and Migration," Applied Behavioural Economics, Vol. 1, ed. Shlomo Maital (New York: New York UP, 1988) 269-302; O. Stark and S. Yitzhaki, "Labour Migration as a Response to Relative Deprivation," Journal of Population Economics 1 (1988): 57-70.

8. Herbert Simon, Models of Man (New York: Wiley, 1957) 241-73; James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: Wiley, 1958) 85-6, 136-86; Richard M. Cyert and James G. March, A Behavioral Theory of the Firm (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1963) 10, 36-8; Harvey Leibenstein, "The Impact of Population Growth on the American Economy," Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, Research Reports. Vol. 2: Economic Aspects of Population Change, eds. E. R. Morss and R. H. Reed (Washington: GPO, 1972) 60; Harvey Leibenstein, Beyond Economic Man; A New Foundation for Microeconomics (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1976) 29-47; Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky, "Prospect Theory: An Analysis of Decision under Risk," Econometrica 47 (1979): 263-91; Harvey Leibenstein, "Economic Decision Theory and Human Fertility Behavior: A Speculative Essay," Population and Development Review 7 (1981): 381-400; Daniel Kahneman and Amos Tversky,



"The Psychology of Preference," Scientific American 246 (1982): 160-73; Jon Elster, "Introduction," Rational Choice, ed. Jon Elster (New York: New York UP, 1986) 25. See also Harry Markowitz, "The Utility of Wealth," Journal of Political Economy 60 (1952): 151-8; A. D. Roy, "Safety First and the Holding of Assets," Econometrica 20 (1952): 431-9; Lawrence E. Fouraker, "Level of Aspiration and Group Decision Making," Decision and Choice: Contributions of Sidney Siegel, eds. Samuel Messick and Arthur H. Brayfield (New York: McGraw, 1964) 201-39; Ralph O. Swalm, "Utility Theory--Insights into Risk Taking," Harvard Business Review 44 (1966): 123-36; Robert Tempest Masson, "Utility Functions with Jump Discontinuities: Some Evidence and Implications from Peasant Agriculture," Economic Inquiry 12 (1974): 559-66; Peter C. Fishburn, "Mean-Risk Analysis with Risk Associated with Below-Target Returns," American Economic Review 67 (1977): 116-26; John W. Payne, Dan J. Laughhunn, and Roy Crum, "Translation of Gambles and Aspiration Level Effects in Risky Choice Behavior," Management Science 26 (1980): 1039-60; Lola L. Lopes, "Between Hope and Fear: The Psychology of Risk," Advances in Experimental Social Psychology 20 (1987): 255-95; William Samuelson and Richard Zeckhauser, "Status Quo Bias in Decision Making," Journal of Risk and Uncertainty 1 (1988): 7-59; Daniel Kahneman, "Reference Points, Anchors, Norms, and Mixed Feelings," Organization Behavior and Human Decision Processes 51 (1992): 296-312. For recognition of the similar behavioral basis of Boserup and Leibenstein, see Richard A. Easterlin, "Effects of Population Growth on the Economic Development of Developing Countries," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 369 (1967): 104; Harvey Leibenstein, "The Population Problem--Introductory Notes," Quarterly Journal of Economics 89 (1975): 231-2.

9. Markowitz 151-8; Sidney Siegel, "Level of Aspiration and Decision Making," Psychological Review 64 (1957): 253-62; H. Simon, Models 241-60; William H. Starbuck, "Level of Aspiration," Psychological Review 70 (1963): 51-60; William H. McWhinney, "Aspiration Levels and Utility Theory," The Psychology of Management Decision, ed. George Fisk (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1967) 62-77; Kahneman and Tversky, "Prospect Theory" 263-91; Payne et al. 1039-40. Leibenstein's work--stretching as it does from firm management to fertility--demonstrates the basic compatibility of the two approaches. Scholars explicitly linking the two approaches include March and Simon, Organizations; James E. Annable, Jr., "A Theory of Downward-Rigid Wages and Cyclical Unemployment," Economic Inquiry 15 (1977): 326-44; George F. Loewenstein, "Frames of Mind in Intertemporal Choice," Management Science 34 (1988): 200-14; George F. Loewenstein, Leigh Thompson, and Max H. Bazerman, "Social Utility and Decision Making in Interpersonal Contexts," Journal of Personality and Social Psycholo-

gy 57 (1989): 430. In cognitive psychology, comparable homeostatic models of motivation, although having fallen from their dominant position in the 1950s and 1960s, have never been directly refuted and still retain a great power to integrate many of the diverse findings in the literature. See Ross Stagner, "Homeostasis, Discrepancy, Dissonance: A Theory of Motives and Motivation," Motivation and Emotion 1 (1977): 103-38; Sandor B. Brent, "Motivation, Steady-State, and Structural Development: A General Model of Psychological Homeostasis," Motivation and Emotion 2 (1978): 299-332; Mortimer H. Appley, "Motivation, Equilibration, and Stress," Nebraska Symposium on Motivation 38 (1991): 1-67.

10. Markowitz 157; Stephen J. Mezias, "Aspiration Level Effects: An Empirical Investigation," Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization 10 (1988): 389-90; George F. Loewenstein, "Frames of Mind in Intertemporal Choice," Management Science 34 (1988): 200.

11. On this population pressure concept central to the thinking of Malthus but quite foreign to modern neo-Malthusians, see E. F. Penrose, Population Theories and Their Application with Special Reference to Japan (Stanford: Food Research Institute, 1934) 16-31; Joseph J. Spengler, Population Economics: Selected Essays of Joseph J. Spengler (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1972) 3-65; Population Division, Dept. of Social Affairs, United Nations, The Determinants and Consequence of Population Trends (New York: United Nations, 1953) 230; E. F. Penrose, "Malthus and the Underdeveloped Areas," Economic Journal 67 (1957): 219-22; Samuel M. Levin, "Malthus and the Idea of Progress," Journal of the History of Ideas 27 (1966): 92-108; Clarence J. Glacken, Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century (Berkeley: U of California P, 1967) 644-9; Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Malthus et le Sous-Développement ou Le Problème de la Cohérence d'une Théorie," Revue Économique 35 (1984): 635-66. On Comte and his influence, see August Comte, The Positive Philosophy of August Comte (New York: AMS, 1974) 519-21, 555-6; Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth, 3rd ed. (New York: Random, 1967) 30-1, 92-3, 134. On Spencer, see Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Biology, 2 vols. (1866-7; New York, 1896) 494-508; Hutchinson 352-3; John C. Greene, Science, Ideology, and World View: Essays in the History of Evolutionary Ideas (Berkeley: U of California P, 1981) 72-7; Peter J. Bowler, The Invention of Progress: The Victorians and the Past (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) 91-2. On the link between human and societal evolution and teleological necessity prominent in the work of Comte and Spencer that perhaps contributed to the muting of necessity as relative poverty, see Chapter 8.

12. William Graham Sumner, What Social Classes Owe to Each Other (1883; New York: Harper, 1911) 54. On Sumner, see also William Graham Sumner, Social Darwinism: Selected Essays of William Graham Sumner (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1963) 15-6; Sumner and Keller 1: 4-5, 45-86. Among nineteenth-century supporters of a population pressure interpretation in Europe were Wilhelm Roscher, J. R. McCulloch, Archibald Alison, and John Weyland; and in America, George Tucker, Alexander Everett, Thomas Cooper, and Robert Ellis Thompson. See Roscher 2: 339n3, 340; Joseph J. Spengler, "Der Rückgang des Antimalthusianismus im Amerika des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts," Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv 42 (1935): 502; Warren B. Catlin, The Progress of Economics: A History of Economic Thought (New York: Bookman Associates, 1962) 262; Hutchinson 186-7, 267, 270, 273, 279-80, 302-3, 330-1, 347-8, 375-7; Ronald L. Meek, Social Science and the Ignoble Savage (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976) 223-4.

13. Pitirim Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York: Harper Brothers, 1928) 380, 431. This "school" included among its members Maxsim Kovalesky, Achille Loria, Yves Guyot, P. Mougelle, L. Winiarsky, Emile Durkheim, Adolphe Coste, Corrado Gini, F. Carli, and J. Mazzarella. See also Emile Durkheim, Division of Labor in Society, trans. George Simpson (New York: Macmillan, 1933) 262-70; Sorokin 357-432; N. S. Timasheff, "The Sociological Theories of Maksim M. Kovalevsky," An Introduction to the History of Sociology, ed. Harry Elmer Barnes (Chicago: U Chicago, P, 1948) 453.

14. J. C. Greene, Science 74; Bowler 91-2. For a later argument, see Edward Hallett Carr, The New Society (London: Macmillan, 1951) 40-60.

15. Ester Boserup, The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure (London: Allen, 1965); Dumond, "Cultural Change" 302-24; Richard A. Easterlin, "Effects of Population Growth on the Economic Development of Developing Countries," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 369 (1967): 104; Don E. Dumond, "Population Growth and Political Centralization," Population Growth: Anthropological Implications (Cambridge: MIT P, 1972) 286-310; Richard G. Wilkinson, Poverty and Progress: An Ecological Model of Economic Development (London: Methuen, 1973); Ester Boserup, "The Impact of Population Growth on Agricultural Output," Quarterly Journal of Economics 89 (1975): 257-70; Colin Clark, Population Growth and Land Use, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1977) 133-8; Albert O. Hirschman, "A Dissenter's Confession: 'The Strategy of Economic Development' Revisited," Pioneers in Development, eds. Gerald Meier and Dudley Seers (New York: Oxford UP, 1984) 102n; Allen W. Johnson and Timothy Earle, The Evolution of Human Societies: From Foraging Group



to Agrarian State (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1987) 12-16. For the most part these ideas have been independently developed since there is little recognition of any link with earlier population pressure theories. For example, B. L. Turner II et al. report "the history of the population pressure thesis is not clear" and mention only a couple of early twentieth century geographers. See B. L. Turner II, Robert Q. Hanham, and Anthony V. Portararo, "Population Pressure and Agricultural Intensity," Annals of the Association of American Geographers 67 (1977): 384n1. For recognition that these ideas date back at least as far as the late eighteenth century, see Michael J. Harner, "Population Pressure and the Social Evolution of Agriculturalists," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 26 (1970): 70; David Grigg, "Ester Boserup's Theory of Agrarian Change: A Critical Review," Progress in Human Geography 3 (1979): 64. In discussing "population pressure" one needs to be careful to distinguish the "opportunity" effects of increasing population numbers and density from the "necessity" effects arising from diminishing resources per capita, both well noted by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British political economists. These divergent effects are normally obscured in the twentieth-century debates dominated by "populationists" and "neo-Malthusians," more concerned with modern policy issues than the strengthening of a social science approach to history. Similarly guilty are the "von Thünen school" who emphasize only the demand side of increasing population density on agricultural intensification, ignoring increasing supply-side competition. See, e.g., Joosep Nõu, Studies in the Development of Agricultural Economics in Europe (Uppsala: Almqvist, 1967); Mark Harrison, "Chayanov and the Economics of the Russian Peasantry," Journal of Peasant Studies 2 (1975): 404-7; Carol A. Smith, "Production in Western Guatemala: A Test of Von Thünen and Boserup," Formal Methods in Economic Anthropology, ed. Stuart Plattner (Washington: American Anthropological Association, 1975) 5-37; J. Simon, Economics xxi, 159n; Grigg, "Boserup" 64-5, 74-5; Claude Ponsard, History of Spatial Economic Theory (Berlin: Springer, 1983). See also critiques of the simplistic equation of population pressure and population density in Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations, 3 vols. (New York: Pantheon, 1968) 1: 430-1; John F. S. Levi, "Population Pressure and Agricultural Change in the Land-Intensive Economy," Journal of Development Studies 13 (1976): 61-78.

16. Population pressure theorists have dominated these debates, but environmental change has been emphasized by some scholars like V. Gordon Childe. Numerous cultural anthropologists like Leslie White prefer not to choose sides. See Leslie A. White, The Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome (New York:



McGraw, 1959) 285. On the population pressure-circumscription debate, see Robert Bates Graber, "Population Pressure, Agricultural Origins, and Cultural Evolution: Constrained Mobility or Inhibited Expansion?", American Anthropologist 93 (1991): 692-5; Michael Rosenberg, "Population Pressure, Locational Constraints, and the Evolution of Culture: A Reply to Graber," American Anthropologist 93 (1991): 695-7. Cf. Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Sociology, 3rd ed., 3 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1897) 1: 25; 2: 268-70; Robert L. Carneiro, "Slash-and-Burn Cultivation among the Kuikuru and Its Implications for Cultural Development in the Amazon Basin," Man in Adaptation: The Cultural Present, ed. Y. A. Cohen (Chicago: Aldine, 1968) 131-45; Marshall Sahlins, Stone Age Economics (Chicago: Aldine, 1972) 95-8; Robert L. Carneiro, "From Autonomous Villages to the State, a Numerical Estimation," Population Growth: Anthropological Implications, ed. Brian Spooner (Cambridge: MIT P, 1972) 73; Judah Matras, Populations and Societies (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1973) 468-9; Robert M. Schacht, "Circumscription Theory: A Critical Review," American Behavioral Scientist 31 (1988): 440; Robert L. Carneiro, "The Circumscription Theory: Challenge and Response," American Behavioral Scientist 31 (1988): 503-5. On the perpetuation of classical environmentalism into the twentieth century, see Spencer, Principles of Sociology 1: 16-37; Edward Westermarck, The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1908) 2: 268-71; Whittaker 60; Joseph J. Spengler, "Mercantilist and Physiocratic Growth Theory," Theories of Economic Growth, eds. Bert F. Hoselitz et al. (Glencoe, IL: Free, 1960) 323; Timasheff, Sociological Theory 273-6; Edgar T. Thompson, Plantation Societies, Race Relations, and the South: The Regimentation of Populations (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1975) 79-80.

17. See, e.g., Henry Adams, History of the United States of America during the Second Administration of James Madison, 3 vols. (New York, 1891) 3: 222; Robert Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology 33 (1928): 881-93; Pitirim A. Sorokin, Man and Society in Calamity: The Effects of War, Revolution, Famine, Pestilence upon Human Mind, Behavior, Social Organization and Cultural Life (New York: Dutton, 1943); Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis, Approaches to Economic Development (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1955) 130-1; Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1964) 195-8; Alfred Sauvy, General Theory of Population, trans. Christophe Campos (New York: Basic, 1969) 283-92; Don E. Dumond, "Population Growth and Political Centralization," Population Growth: Anthropological Implications (Cambridge: MIT P, 1972) 302; Joel S. Migdal, Peasants, Politics, and Revolution: Pressures toward Political and Social Change in the Third World (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1974). Although Toyn-

bee is most famous for his classical environmentalism stressing "hard" and "soft" environments, he also stressed the "inexorable challenge" of "population pressure" which he gave prominence of place in his analysis of the evolution of ancient Greek society. See Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, 12 vols. (London: Oxford UP, 1935) 1: 24-5, 328-30. Alfred Dupréel with his similar concept of "pression creatrice" has had an important influence on French scholars. See Sauvy, General Theory 284; Gérard Sagnier, "Une Hypothèse de Décolage en Démographie Économique," Population 34 (1979): 718-23.

18. United Nations, Determinants 230. See also March and Simon 184.

19. A. V. Chayanov, A. V. Chayanov on The Theory of Peasant Economy, eds. Daniel Thorner et al. (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1986) 78, 87 (original emphasis). See also Chayanov 78-90, 119-20, 207-13, 226; Joseph J. Spengler, Population Economics: Selected Essays of Joseph J. Spengler (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1972) 324-5; Mark Harrison, "Chayanov and the Economics of the Russian Peasantry," Journal of Peasant Studies 2 (1975): 392-6; E. Paul Durrenberger, "Introduction," Chayanov, Peasants, and Economic Anthropology, ed. E. Paul Durrenberger (Orlando: Academic, 1984) 14, 17; Günther Schmitt, "The Rediscovery of Alexander Chayanov," History of Political Economy 24 (1992): 946-8. Echoing Lionel Robbins's criticism of Frank Knight, Frank Ellis correctly notes that Chayanov's neo-classical analysis does not produce a determinate conclusion as to the elasticity of the supply of labor, yet there is no doubt that Chayanov believed that his model of peasant household decision-making rested on a presupposition of a backward-sloping supply curve. See Lionel Robbins, "On the Elasticity of Demand for Income in Terms of Effort," Economica 10 (1930): 123-9; Frank Ellis, Peasant Economics: Farm Households and Agrarian Development: Farm Households and Agrarian Development (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 109-10. For a recognition of the close resemblance between the theories of Boserup and Chayanov, see David Grigg, "Ester Boserup's Theory of Agrarian Change: A Critical Review," Progress in Human Geography 3 (1979): 69; David Grigg, The Dynamics of Agricultural Change: The Historical Experience (New York: St. Martin's, 1982) 99; Morgan D. Maclachlan, "From Intensification to Proletarianization," Household Economies and the Transformations, ed. Morgan D. Maclachlan, (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1987) 1-27; Stephen B. Brush and B. L. Turner II, "The Nature of Farming Systems and Views of Their Change," Comparative Farming Systems, eds. B. L. Turner II and Stephen B. Brush (New York: Guilford, 1987) 31-2. Chayanov's work was well known to German scholars in the 1920s and 1930s and Pitirim Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and their students brought

Chayanov's work to the attention of English-speaking audiences in the 1930's, where it influenced the analysis of the family life cycle of Western households. See, e.g., Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles J. Galpin, eds., A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology, 3 vols. (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1930-2) 1: 454-5; 2: 144-7; Charles P. Loomis, The Growth of the Farm Family in Relation to Its Activities (Raleigh, NC: Agricultural Experiment Station, 1934); Carle C. Zimmerman, Consumption and Standards of Living (New York: Nostrand, 1936) 45-6, 54; Rudolf Heberle, "Social Factors in Birth Control," American Sociological Review 6 (1941): 799-800; Eric Wolf, Peasants (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice, 1966) 14-5. Chayanov perhaps was attempting to show how one could analyze Sombart and Weber's "traditional man" within a neo-classical framework. See Basile Kerblay, "A. V. Chayanov: Life, Career, Works," A. V. Chayanov on The Theory of Peasant Economy, eds. Daniel Thorner et al. (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1986) lxvi-lxvii. On Sombart and Weber, see Chapter 8.

20. Michael Landsberger, "An Integrated Model of Consumption and Market Activity: The Children Effect," Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section, American Statistical Association 1971 (Washington: American Statistical Association, 1972) 137-42; C. Russell Hill, "Education, Health and Family Size as Determinants of Labor Market Activity for the Poor and Nonpoor," Demography 8 (1971) 379-88; Wanda Minge-Kalman, "On the Theory and Measurement of Domestic Labor Intensity," American Ethnologist 4 (1977): 273-84; J. Simon, Economics 55-62; John J. Scully, "The Influence of Family Size on Efficiency within the Farm--An Irish Study," Research in Population Economics 1 (1978): 27-35; Adam M. Pilarski, "The Impact of Fertility on Hours of Work: A Cross-Country Comparison," Research in Population Economics 1 (1978): 69-91; Howard N. Barnum and Lyn Squire, A Model of an Agricultural Household: Theory and Evidence (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1979) 15, 96-7; Diana Hunt, "Chayanov's Model of Peasant Household Resource Allocation," Journal of Peasant Studies 6 (1979): 248-85; James C. Cramer, "The Effects of Fertility on Husband's Economic Activity: Evidence from Static, Dynamic, and Nonrecursive Models," Research in Population Economics 2 (1980) 151-82; Ronald Lee, "Economic Consequences of Population Size, Structure and Growth," Newsletter (IUSSP) 17 (1983): 47-8; E. Paul Durrenberger, ed., Chayanov, Peasants, and Economic Anthropology (Orlando: Academic, 1984); Alice Saltzman, "Chayanov's Theory of Peasant Economy Applied Cross-Culturally: Family Life Cycle Influences on Economic Differentiation and Economic Strategy," diss., U of California, Irvine, 1985, 110-3. For a more critical view, acknowledging the greater need and desire for income created by such "demographic pressure" but stressing the constraints on the labor supply of



additional children in the households, see Richard E. Bilsborrow, "Effects of Economic Dependency on Labour Force Participation Rates in Less Developed Countries," Oxford Economic Papers 29 (1977): 61-83.

21. Pitirim Sorokin, Hunger as a Factor in Human Affairs, ed. Elena P. Sorokin (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1975). Cf. Hankins, "Pressure" 103; Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Evanston, IL: Row, 1957) 4, 18; James C. Davies, "The J-Curve of Rising and Declining Satisfactions as a Cause of Some Great Revolutions and a Contained Rebellion," The History of Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, eds. Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr (New York: Praeger, 1969) 728. Studies of "absolute" necessity show similar "coping strategies" for both famine prevention and responses to immediate famine as studies focusing on responses to "relative" necessity and thus the two types of necessity should not be dichotomized. However, one should not lose sight of the fundamental difference--a point emphasized by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century high-wage theorists--that "people anywhere seem to become more passive and seemingly apathetic once severely weakened by hunger and malnutrition." See Parker Shipton, "African Famines and Food Security: Anthropological Perspectives," Annual Review of Anthropology 19 (1990): 353-94, esp. 363. See also Elizabeth Colson, "In Good Years and in Bad: Food Strategies of Self-Reliant Societies," Journal of Anthropological Research 35 (1979): 18-29; Robert Dirks, "Social Responses during Severe Food Shortages and Famine," Current Anthropology 21 (1980): 21-44; Adel P. Den Hartog, "Adjustment of Food Behaviour during Famine," Famine: Its Causes, Effects and Management, ed. John R. K. Robson (New York: Gordon, 1981) 155-61; Ronald Seavoy, Famine in Peasant Societies (New York: Greenwood, 1986); Paul E. Minnis, Social Adaptation to Food Stress: A Prehistoric Southwestern Example (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985); David Arnold, Famine: Social Crisis and Historical Change (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988) 47-95; Peter Garnsey, Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988) 43-68; Jane Corbett, "Famine and Household Coping Strategies," World Development 16 (1988): 1099-112; Thomas W. Gallant, "Crisis and Response: Risk-Buffering Behavior in Hellenistic Greek Communities," Journal of Interdisciplinary History 19 (1989): 393-413; Dessalegn Rahmato, Famine and Survival Strategies: A Case Study from Northeast Ethiopia (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1991); Hans G. Bohle et al., eds., Famine and Food Security in Africa and Asia: Indigenous Response and External Intervention to Avoid Hunger (Bayreuth: Naturwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Bayreuth, 1991) 37-148; Thomas W. Gallant, Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy



(Stanford: Stanford UP, 1991). In particular, the historical archaeologists Minnis, Garnsey, and Gallant draw explicitly on the work of Boserup and Chayanov and provide an important bridge between these famine studies and the more "relative" necessity studies mentioned above. On environmental disasters in general, see Ian Burton, Robert W. Kates, and Gilbert F. White, The Environment as Hazard (New York: Oxford UP, 1978); William I. Torry, "Anthropological Studies in Hazardous Environments: Past Trends and New Horizons," Current Anthropology 20 (1979): 519-20; William I. Torry, "Anthropological Perspectives on Climate Change," Social Science Research and Climate Change: An Interdisciplinary Appraisal, eds. Robert S. Chen, et al. (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1983) 208-29. In some of this literature, one needs to be careful however with terms like "adaptation," "adaptive strategies," "maximizing" the chances of survival, and other concepts inspired by the literature in sociobiology and evolutionary ecology, because although they share a common basis with necessity studies in an emphasis on self-preservation (the original necessity), often the two approaches hypothesize very different behavioral dispositions, e.g., maximizing rather than satisficing.

22. See, e.g., Dumond, "Cultural Change" 302-3, 310; Brian Hayden, "Population Control among Hunter/Gatherers," World Archaeology 4 (1972): 205-21; Michael A. Jochim, Strategies for Survival: Cultural Behavior in an Ecological Context (New York: Academic, 1981) 182; Paul E. Minnis, Social Adaptation to Food Stress: A Prehistoric Southwestern Example (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1985) 6; Lawrence H. Keeley, "Hunter-Gatherer Economic Complexity and 'Population Pressure': A Cross-Cultural Analysis," Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 7 (1988): 401.

23. On peasant and family farmers, see Wolf, Peasants 78-80; Frank Cancian, Change and Uncertainty in a Peasant Economy: The Maya Corn Farmers of Zinacantan (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1972); Peggy F. Barlett, "The Structure of Decision Making in Paso," American Ethnologist 4 (1977): 285-307; Peggy F. Barlett, "Adaptive Strategies in Peasant Agricultural Production," Annual Review of Anthropology 9 (1980): 545-73; Gregor Dallas, The Imperfect Peasant Economy: The Loire Country, 1800-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982); Peggy F. Barlett, "The Crisis in Family Farming: Who Will Survive?," Farm Work and Fieldwork: American Agriculture in Anthropological Perspective, ed. Michael Chibnik (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1987) 29-57; Morgan D. Maclachlan, ed. Household Economies and the Transformations (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1987); Richard R. Wilk, ed., The Household Economy: Reconsidering the Domestic Mode of Production (Boulder: Westview, 1989). On the urban poor, see E. Wight Bakke, The Unemployed Man: A Social Study (London:

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#### APPENDIX IV A DUALISTIC APPROACH TO THE MIND-BEHAVIOR PROBLEM

Reformulated based on our analysis of ideal and operative values, we can state the fundamental difference between traditionalist and modernist historians in this way: Were Virginians guided more by the ideals of gentility and concern for the common good or by the egoistic pursuit of self-interest? As we have seen, the evidence is ambiguous. Should we trust ideal values? Then clearly gentility was the guiding principle. Should we trust operative values? Then clearly self-interest was the guiding principle.

We have shown that one central element in operative values--the idea of necessity--seems to explain much of planter behavior. Does this imply that we should accept the reigning operative values--what psychologists and philosophers label "commonsense psychology"--as the best explanation of the mindset? There are a couple of good arguments against such a view. Firstly, many psychologists dismiss "folk theory" as "prescientific mumbo jumbo."<sup>1</sup> There is no guarantee that any system of operative values will well explain behavior. Indeed, one might note that even though the idea of necessity continues to explain much of twentieth-century behavior, and people today have little trouble

understanding behavior driven by necessity, twentieth-century Americans hardly give necessity the weight in their system of operative values that seventeenth-century Englishmen did.

Secondly, a mindset resting on operative values leaves no room for ideal values. Possibly one could argue from the operative emphasis on self-interestedness that justifying action based on pursuit of the common good was simply a rationalization of one's interests. But while this might be the operative explanation for other's behavior, this was certainly not the operative explanation that actors gave to their own behavior and the behavior of like-minded individuals. Perhaps one might argue, as some contemporaries did, that self-inflating rhetoric reflected nothing more than "self-deception." But questions then arise how and why the ability for such ubiquitous self-deception evolved and why such a lasting power in the face of such widespread cynicism? And at what point does it become impossible to distinguish between self-deception and a genuine belief in espoused ideals like the common good? Only when actual behavior can be proven to be contrary to some "objective" measure of one's self-interest? Obviously to answer such questions, historians would need to look far beyond seventeenth-century England and Virginia. Any ultimate answer would need to be placed in evolutionary time and would require comparative analysis of far different cultures.



Until such time, however, no working explanation can ignore either ideals or interests. Indeed, while the modern social sciences seem at times split in a perpetual idealist-realist debate between the "oversocialized man" of Parsonian sociology and the "undersocialized man" of neo-classical economics, most scholars, if pushed, would admit that in general one can not explain mind and/or behavior without reference to both interests and ideals.<sup>2</sup> Even in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century when so much emphasis was placed on the egoistic pursuit of self-interest, extremists like Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Mandeville--who were understood to be promoting self-interest as the sole basis of society--were roundly condemned, despite the ubiquitous recognition that there was much truth in what they said.<sup>3</sup>

The most likely solution is simply to assume some sort of tension between normative ideals and egoistic interests in all individuals across space, time, and culture. There is much precedent for such a "dualistic" interpretation. While classical, medieval, and modern scholars have been variously labelled either optimistic or pessimistic with regards to human nature, these are most often caricatures because close examination shows that none were exclusively so. Thus, for all the attempts to label Machiavelli as either an optimist or a pessimist, clearly no such labels fits the corpus of his thought which presumed that the nature of man was the same everywhere, both good and bad, though grown worse with

the corruption of civilization and requiring a strong political power to keep in check.<sup>4</sup>

From classical times to the present, scholars have sought to define man as an "animal plus," whether the "plus" be rational, social, political, or whatever. Apart from a few extreme primitivists that prefer the animal part, most scholars suggest the "plus" represents our higher nature and the animal our lower nature.<sup>5</sup> In the Great Chain of Being, man made up the "middle link" between beasts and angels.<sup>6</sup>

Dualism combining some sense of man's perfectibility and the inherent sinfulness of human nature appears persistently and ubiquitously in Western thought from the classical age of Plato, Aristotle, St. Paul, and St. Augustine; through the Renaissance and Reformation of Machiavelli, Thomas Elyot, and John Calvin; to the modern era of Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant, Sigmund Freud, Emile Durkheim, Pitirim Sorokin, and Reinhold Niebuhr.<sup>7</sup> All systems of Western thought have, in fact, incorporated implicitly or explicitly the tension between man's higher and lower nature, reflected in the ubiquitous acknowledgment of both the need for government and law (to regulate man's lower nature) and the need for proper moral education (to train and encourage his higher nature).<sup>8</sup> Although the major goal of modern political economy has been to sidestep dependence on man's fickle higher nature and design institutions to channel man's less fickle lower nature to serve the common good, no system of

Western political economy has ever relied solely on man's higher or lower nature.<sup>9</sup>

Such a view has received much support since the 1960s from social scientists seeking to explain problems left unresolved by either the Parsonian or neo-classical approaches. Thus Howard Margolis employs a Darwinian dual-utility model in order to surmount the failure of rational-choice theory to explain behavior in public-goods contexts, such as why any rational actor would vote.<sup>10</sup> Much of this work has recently come under the rubric of "socio-economics."<sup>11</sup> However, still left unresolved, and not likely to be resolved anytime soon, is how the mind manages this tension and whether the tension arises strictly from "nature," the interaction between "nature" and "nurture," or both.<sup>12</sup>

American intellectual and social historians might well benefit from such a dualistic approach to mind and behavior to help them escape from a tendency either to dichotomize Americans as good and evil, optimists and pessimists; or to ignore altogether any tension between ideals and interests by merging them in concepts like "ideology" or "mentalité." American historians have long employed the concept of dualistic tensions to capture the complexity of certain "minds"--like Turner's idealist and realist tensions in the Western mind, Parrington's Puritan and Yankee in the New England mind, Hofstadter's "soft" and "hard" side of the mind of the American farmer, Bailyn's liberal and classical

republican tensions in the mind of the American Whigs--but these same historians have just as readily treated the mind of other Americans (Easterners, Southerners, commercial men, Tories) as quite simple with no such tensions.

On the other hand, scholars as diverse as Douglass Adair, James Scanlan, Paul Eidelberg, Marvin Meyers, Garry Wills, Morton White, Daniel Walker Howe, and Lance Banning have done much to rescue the Founding Fathers from the black and white views of human nature imposed by Progressive historians, views that can only be categorized as gray, stressing man's higher or lower nature as the situation demanded. An explicit affirmation is Washington's 1797 message to Congress, drafted by Alexander Hamilton, concerning the salaries of public officers: "No plan of governing is well founded, which does not regard man as a compound of selfish and virtuous passions. To expect him to be wholly guided by the latter, would be as great an error as to suppose him wholly destitute of them."<sup>13</sup>

Historians might well extend such a dualistic tension to explain the persistence through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century of the rhetoric of the "commonwealth ideology" among American politicians, farmers, laborers, big businessmen, and white-collar professionals alike that historians have recently done much to resurrect in the face of the overwhelming scholarly consensus on the triumph of economic and political liberalism by sometime in the nineteenth



century.<sup>14</sup> But rather than alternately celebrating such an ideology as a communitarian alternative to economic and political liberalism--or dismissing as mere rhetoric and capitalist rationalization when linked to more conservative agendas--we might well heed historian Paul A. Rahe, who, in his recent monumental overview of the history of republicanism, has perhaps captured as well as anybody the essence of this dualistic tension, as applicable to ancient Greece as the modern United States:

Odd though it may seem, the fact that hypocrisy and self-delusion are needed to mask the partisan character of the political order is a sign of man's innate generosity and of his capacity for impartiality, for they are the dark shadows cast by the tension within human nature between the desire for private advantage and a genuine public-spiritedness.<sup>15</sup>

Historians and other social scientists need to begin exploring the degree to which the commonwealth ideology continues to the present, as paradoxically moral, constitutional, and Machiavellian today as in the thirteenth century, combining ambiguously ideas of positive and negative liberty, private and public necessity, and individual and common good. If ideas of the common good (or public interest) and public necessity (or national interest) sometimes fade, they certainly become clear when the political community senses itself endangered. Traditional ideas about private necessity persist in criminal law, welfare rights, and the persistence of charity. A personal sense of individual and common good regardless of disagreement over the exact

nature of those goods--including belief in ideas about justice, freedom, natural rights, or other fundamental laws--have in the past and continue to constrain the state.<sup>16</sup>

### Notes

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3. J. A. W. Gunn, Politics and the Public Interest in the Seventeenth Century (London: Routledge, 1969) 58-9.

4. Giuseppe Prezzolini, Machiavelli (New York: Farrar, 1967) 51-4; Sydney Anglo, Machiavelli: A Dissection (New York: Harcourt, 1969) 203-9; Mitchell 348; Annemarie De Waal Malefijt, Images of Man: A History of Anthropological Thought (New York: Knopf, 1974) 51-3; Morton White, Philosophy, The Federalist, and the Constitution (New York: Oxford UP, 1987) 248n34. Even Mark Hulliung--who believes that Machiavelli flatly rejected the traditional Christian distinction between idealism and realism in his celebration

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10. Margolis, Selfishness.

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15. Rahe 25. See also Rahe 12, 55-6, 229, 245, 266, 268, 272, 286, 317, 395, 915n51, 939n152. Cf. Francis Hutcheson, A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, vol. 4 of Collected Works of Francis Hutcheson, 7 vols. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1969-71) 18.



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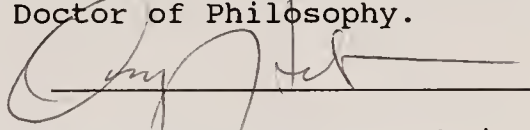
## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Bruce Chandler Baird, Jr., was born November 22, 1956, in New Orleans, Louisiana. In 1970 he and his family moved to Houston, Texas. In his senior year at Clear Lake High School, he won the State of Texas University Interscholastic League 4-A Science Championship and was named class valedictorian. He finished his undergraduate education in three years graduating Summa Cum Laude from Texas A&M University in May 1977 with a B.S. in Chemical Engineering.

After graduating he went to work for ARCO Oil & Gas Company, first in Houston and then in Anchorage and Prudhoe Bay in Alaska. In 1982 he retired from corporate life and for the next few years pursued various interests such as travelling around the world, living in England for a year, taking courses at the University of Alaska at Fairbanks, and pursuing his family genealogy. In 1988, he settled on the idea of becoming an historian. After earning an M.A. in American Studies at the College of William & Mary, he entered the Ph.D. program in History at the University of Florida in September 1989.

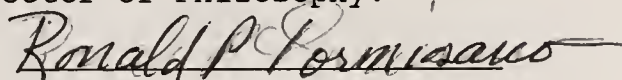
Accompanying him on this odyssey have been his wife Lisa and their two sons Evan and Graham, who all eagerly await the next move.

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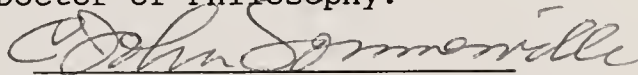
Darrett B. Rutman, Chair  
Graduate Research  
Professor of History

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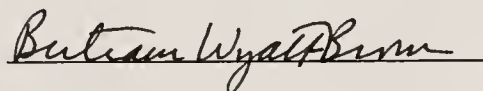
Ronald P. Formisano  
Professor of History

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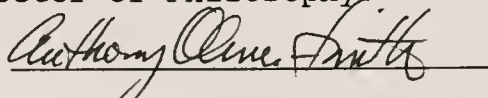
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Professor of Anthropology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of History in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 1995

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Dean, Graduate School

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